THE CRISIS

THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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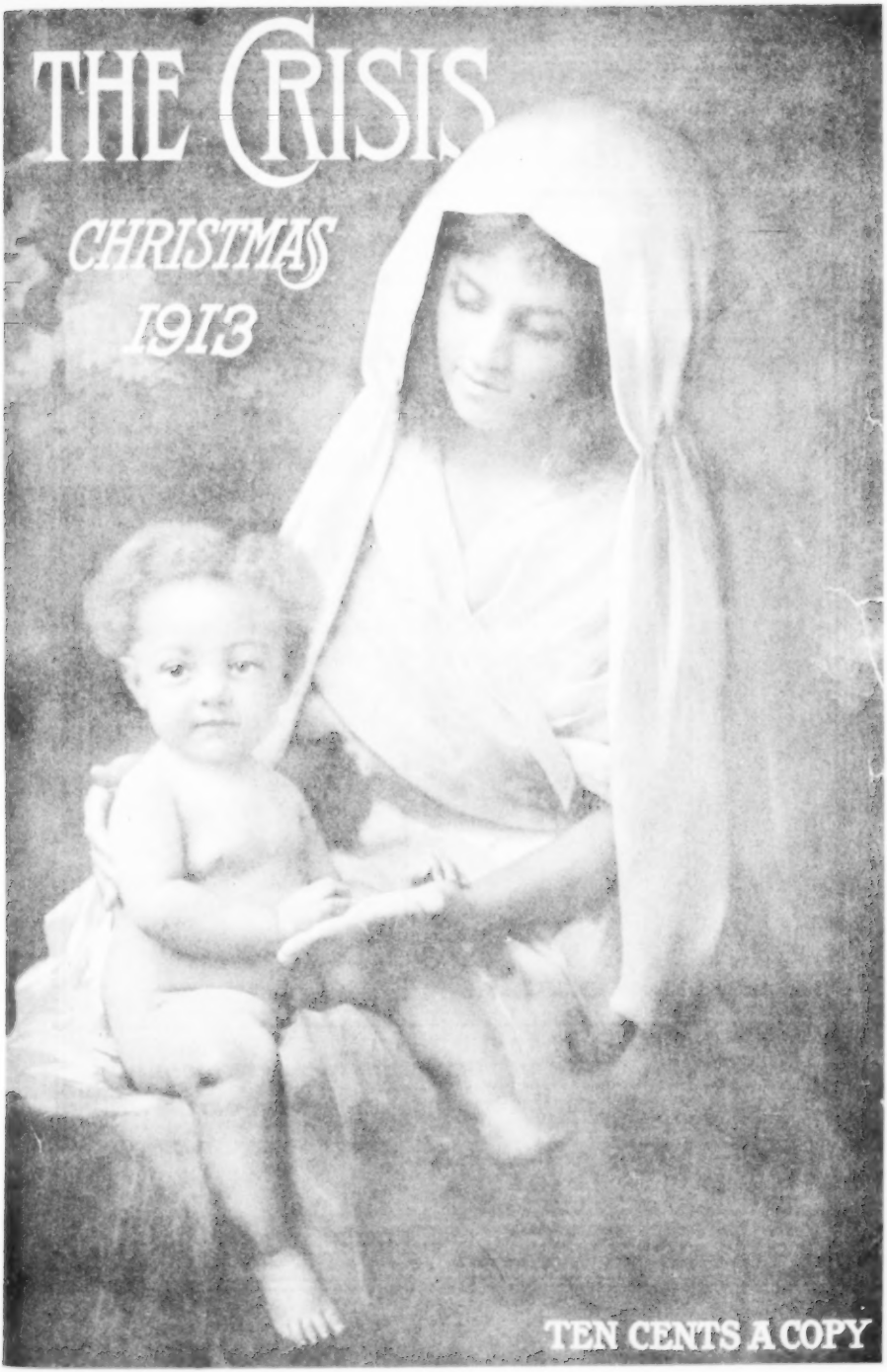
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THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, AT 26 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Conducted by

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE DILL, Business Manager

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Copyright photograph from life by W. L. Brockman. (Orders taken by THE CRISIS)

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A. G. DILL,
Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this first day of October, 1913.

C. H. ARRINGTON,
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[Seal] County of Queens.

THE CRISIS

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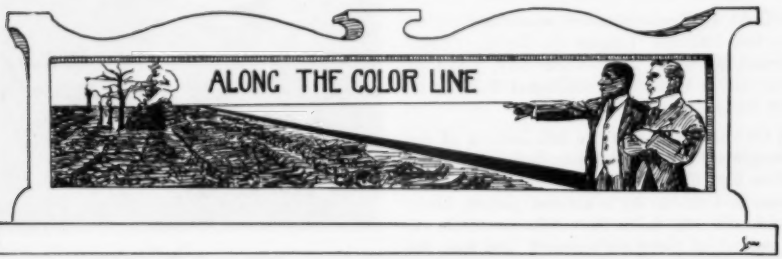
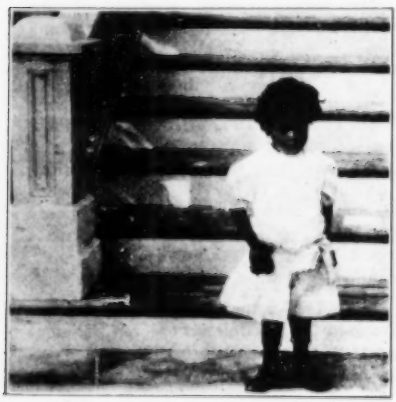


SOCIAL UPLIFT.

MISS MARY VIDA CLARK, assistant secretary of the children's department of the State Charities Aid Association, 289 Fourth Avenue, Room 82, New York, wants to send a charming little colored girl of 3, pictured here, to Darlington, S. C., to a clergyman and his wife, who have agreed to adopt her. These good people became interested in the little girl through Miss Clark's story which appeared in THE CRISIS for January, 1913. Will any readers of THE CRISIS who expect to be traveling South soon, and who would be willing to take the little girl to her new home, kindly communicate with Miss Clark? It would be necessary to take the child to the nearest large city where she could be met.



¶ Carroll Trotty, a colored hotel waiter, rescued a white boy from drowning in the Thunderbolt River in Savannah recently.

¶ The colored people had three floats in the Columbus Day parade in Boston, representing the Crispus Attucks incident, the attack on Fort Wagner and the part played by colored women in the Civil War. One of the prizes awarded for the best portrayal of an historical feature was won by the Crispus Attucks float.

¶ Judge Kananagh, of the Illinois Supreme Court, made a strong plea for justice toward the Negro in a speech delivered before the Irish Fellowship Club in Chicago. He advocated the appointment of a national commission to inquire into the existing discriminations against the Negro.

¶ Colored girls employed as waitresses in Gimbel's department store, in New York City, who were discharged some time ago, have been reinstated.

¶ Among the three heroes of the "Volturno" disaster who stand out above the rest was S. J. Rudder, a colored fireman who stuck to his post, reviving the confidence of the other firemen, and finally jumped into the sea, late in the night.

¶ Recently hotels at St. Louis, Baltimore, Albany, N. Y., Lake George and other places have dismissed white waiters for colored ones.

¶ Tamina, Tex., with a population of white and colored, has a colored postmistress.

¶ Miss Clotee Scott, a young colored woman, has opened up a settlement house for Negroes in Hyde Park, a suburb of Chicago.

¶ The large Kaufman department store in Pittsburgh, Pa., has installed colored elevator men in the place of white ones.

¶ John D. Rockefeller has subscribed $2,500 to the National League on Urban Conditions, located in New York City, provided the league raises the additional $13,500 of the budget of $16,000.

¶ On the last day of the fall meeting of the Douglass Park Racing Association in Louisville, Ky., Clubs, a horse owned by a colored man and ridden by a colored jockey, Dishmon, ran two miles in within two-fifths of a second of the world's record and won the cup race.

¶ The Negroes of Kansas City, Mo., are attempting to raise $30,000 for a colored hospital, as the colored people of that city have few hospital facilities. Recently the Kansas City colored people raised $30,000 for a Y. M. C. A.

¶ A certain man whose name is not given has written to the editor of the New York *Globe* offering the use of a number of large houses in New Jersey, about an hour's ride from New York, to be used as a social settlement for Negroes.

¶ At a recent baby show held in Fall River, Mass., the first prize was won by a one-year-old colored baby, the only colored entrant in the contest.

¶ A National Tennis Association was recently organized in Baltimore by colored delegates representing that city, Washington and Philadelphia. All cities in which there are tennis clubs will be invited to join the association. Dr. Henry Freeman, of Washington, is president and Mr. Adams, of Philadelphia, secretary-treasurer of the association.

¶ Colored women in Birmingham, Ala., have formed an anti-tuberculosis club. There are absolutely no provisions made for colored people at the Birmingham tuberculosis camp.

¶ Miss Minnie D. Woodard, a graduate of the nurse-training department of Meharry Medical College, is the first colored girl who has received a certificate of registration

MISS M. D. WOODARD.

as a trained nurse issued by authority of the State board of nurse examiners of Tennessee. This certificate was obtained through the efforts of the Nashville Negro board of trade, which took the matter up almost two years ago. Even after the board had won its case there were objections from the white nurses in the State.

EDUCATION.

THE American Colonization Society has paid over to Liberia $60,000 for the education of the children of the Negro republic. This was the gift of Caroline Donovan, bequeathed twenty-seven years ago, but legally involved up to this time.

¶ Eight Southern States were represented in the second annual meeting of the Association of Negro Industrial and Secondary Schools held at 26 Vesey Street. The association adopted a constitution and plans.

¶ Both in Savannah and Atlanta, Ga., thousands of colored school children have been turned away from the schools because there is no room for them. In Atlanta some of the largest grades are in the damp, dark basements. A new school has been promised Savannah next year, which will alleviate conditions somewhat.

¶ A building valued at $9,500 has been purchased for the Chicago Colored Religious Seminary. This school has been in existence for more than a year, but up to this

time has held its sessions in Olivet Church, Chicago.

¶ The Negroes of Greenville, S. C., are making an effort to raise money for the improvement of their school facilities.

¶ The board of education of Washington, D. C., has asked Congress for an appropriation of $500,000 for a new colored high school.

¶ Southern University, formerly at New Orleans, but now at Iberia, La., established some time back in the 70's, has, in the person of Mr. J. S. Clark, its first colored president.

¶ Sayer Business College, in Pasadena, Cal., has opened its doors to a colored student for the first time, in the person of Miss Margie L. Danley.

¶ The board of education of Washington, D. C., has sent a request to Howard University asking the university to establish extension courses leading to the first degree in arts and sciences for the public-school teachers.

¶ In Maseru, the chief town of Basutoland, South Africa, there are 250 schools for Negroes, with a total attendance of 12,175.

MUSIC AND ART.

WHEN Miss Kitty Cheatham gave her song recital in the Royal Academic High School for Music, at the invitation of the University of Berlin, she concluded the first part of her program with Negro numbers—a Paul Laurence Dunbar excerpt and some specially requested Negro songs.

¶ Mme. Lillian Nordica and the artists of her party, Paul Dufault, Franklin Holding and Romayne Simmons, with whom she appeared in concerts at the Hawaiian Opera House this summer, were guests of ex-Queen Liliuokalani, at her home in Honolulu. Hawaiian airs were played by a string quartet.

¶ On October 15 a concert was given in Boston by the Samuel Taylor Choral Society, Mr. Samuel Stewart, director. The chorus, which was organized by Forrest Whitaker, was assisted by Mr. Gerald Tayor, baritone, of St. Louis; Mrs. Florence Cole-Talbert, soprano, of Los Angeles; Mr. Le Roy Godman, tenor, of Columbus, O., and Mr. Stewart, organist. The accompanists were Miss Edith Quann, Mr. Lionel Jones and Mr. Cleveland Lemons.

¶ Among the novelties heard at the Peterboro music festival, Peterboro, N. H., under the direction of Mrs. MacDowell, was the Negro rhapsody by Henry F. Gilbert, who has before shown his interest in the Negro idiom. This rhapsody, which is said to have distinct musical value and to be superior to his "comedy" overture (based on Negro themes), both in texture of musical ideas and quality of workmanship, was performed for the first time last June at Norfolk, Conn.

¶ R. N. Dett, a colored Canadian, who is teaching music at Hampton Institute, is a composer of note. Especially notable are two suites characteristic of Negro life: "In the Bottoms" and "Magnolias."

¶ Clarence Cameron White, with Mrs. M. P. Merrill and Miss M. E. Smith, vocalists, and the piano players, gave a very successful recital at Chicago in October.

¶ A. P. Razafkeriefo, a colored youth of New York, is a composer of merit though little known. One of his songs, "Baltimore," is being sung by a Broadway star in the "Passing Show of 1913."

¶ Miss Ira Aldrich, daughter of the celebrated tragedian of the same name, is becoming known as a composer in England under the nom de plume of Montague Ring. Miss Aldrich's "Three African Dances" were favorites at their majesties' ball at Buckingham Palace July 23, and her "Have You Forgotten?" waltz is becoming the usual thing in theatre orchestras and at public and private dances.

PERSONAL.

MRS. SARAH FIELDS, of 246 Carroll Street, North Side, Pittsburgh, Pa., widow of Hugh Fields, in order to secure her husband's pension, needs the affidavits of two witnesses to his first wife's burial. The first Mrs. Fields died twenty-two years ago at Millsboro, Va. Mrs. Fields is in urgent need of this pension. Will readers of THE CRISIS help her to secure the evidence she needs?

¶ Prof. Earl Finch, a prominent young colored educator, who for the past few years has been dean of the college department in Wilberforce University, is dead.

When Professor Finch took his master's degree in Chicago University it is said that he stood the second highest of anyone who had ever studied in the university.

¶ Robert H. Holmes, who was appointed a policeman, is the second colored appointee in Manhattan. He has taken up his duties in the 28th precinct.

¶ Mrs. Agnes Smallwood, the well-known singer of Washington, D. C., died there October 7.

MEETINGS.

THE Kentucky State Teachers' Association held its annual session in Louisville from November 12 to 14. The colored schools were closed on these days.

¶ The Afro-American Council of Presbyterian Churches held its twentieth annual session in Baltimore last month.

THE CHURCH.

THERE was a special meeting of the Episcopal convention, which was held in New York last month, to discuss the welfare of the Negro. The most important issue discussed was the appointing of colored bishops over each diocese having colored members. As usual, no decision was reached, and the question will be brought up again at the next general meeting three years hence. The music at this meeting was furnished by six vested Negro choirs, ranging from small boys to young men.

¶ At the national council of Congregational churches, which met in Kansas City, Mo., the last of October, a resolution was passed appealing to President Wilson to use his good offices against the "humiliation, oppression and segregation of Negro employees under the government at Washington, D. C."

¶ The House of St. Michael and All Angels in Philadelphia, in charge of the Sisters of Saint Margaret, an order belonging to the Episcopal Church, is perhaps the only institution of its kind in the United States. It is a home for young colored cripples, where they are given surgical care and such schooling as their physical condition allows. These children either pay or not, according to the circumstances of those sending them, and the school is supported by donations.

COURTS.

JUDGE E. T. WADE, of the Branch Municipal Court of Chicago, dismissed the case brought against the proprietor of the Monarch Theatre for discriminating against a colored man, Robert Anderson, and his wife.

¶ On petition of some colored citizens the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has granted to Frederick Brown, a colored man who is charged with murdering a white man, J. T. Durst, seven years ago in South Carolina, an appeal from the decision of Judge Ferguson dismissing his writ of habeas corpus in resisting extradition to South Carolina. It is said that Cole Blease has expressed himself as being willing to lead a mob to lynch Brown if he returns to his State.

¶ When George W. Boyles, a colored man accused of murder, was acquitted in the Quarter Sessions Court No. 1, in Philadelphia, Assistant District Attorney Rogers was very angry and asked Judge McMicheal to order the jury from the box. The judge did as he was asked, reminding the second jury that was called that they had a duty to perform toward the commonwealth. The decision in the case of the colored man stood.

¶ The Supreme Court of Mississippi has rendered a decision upholding a statute of that State which requires interstate railroads whose trains pass through the State to maintain separate accommodations for white and colored passengers. This decision was the result of a suit for damages brought by a white woman who had been compelled to remain in a Pullman coach in which there were three colored men. The jury awarded the woman a verdict of $15,000.

¶ By a new law barkeepers in Pensacola, Fla., who have separate counters for white and colored people must buy two licenses.

¶ Annie Ellis, a colored woman of Macon, Ga., was awarded a verdict of $4,747 for the death of her husband, who was killed by a live electric wire. This is said to be the largest verdict ever given a colored person for personal injuries. The damages asked were $10,000.

¶ Miss May Hicks, a colored actress, went into Joel's Broadway restaurant, in New

York, with several white actresses, and the proprietor refused to serve her. When the matter was carried into court Joel was fined $100 by Judge Nathan Oppenheimer.

THE GHETTO.

THIS is the law recently passed by the legislature of Florida and signed by Governor Trammel, viz.:

Chapter 6490, laws of Florida, act 1913.

An act prohibiting white persons from teaching Negroes in Negro schools, and prohibiting Negro teachers from teaching white children in white schools in the State of Florida, and providing for the penalty therefor.

Be it enacted by the legislature of the State of Florida:

Section 1. From and after the passage of this act it shall be unlawful in this State for white teachers to teach Negroes in Negro schools, and for Negro teachers to teach in white schools.

Sec. 2. Any person or persons violating the provisions of this act shall be punished by a fine not to exceed $500, or by imprisonment in the county jail, not exceeding six months.

Sec. 3. This act shall take effect upon and after its passage and approval by the governor.

Approved June 7, 1913.

¶ Dr. Marcus Wheatland, a well-known colored physician of Newport, R. I., has been denied a renewal of his membership in the Vanderbilt Young Men's Christian Association of that city. The same organization has refunded the membership fees of another colored member, asking him to resign.

¶ At the eleventh annual national convention of the rural-mail carriers of Evansville, Ind., it was decided that Negro delegates should not be allowed to attend the national conventions.

¶ A colored girl was prevented from taking an examination in the Polytechnic High School in Los Angeles recently by the mysterious disappearance of her typewriter until the examination was over. Another colored girl was prevented in the same way from taking a county examination at the courthouse.

¶ The formal organization of a North Carolina commission on rural race problems has been completed. It is the opinion of the members that "some steps should be taken to enable white communities to protect themselves from the evils of what is at present held to be the result of the wholly unregulated presence of white and colored farms in the same neighborhood."

¶ One member of the Oakland Center, of the California Civic League, has resigned and a general dissension is threatened because there were present at a lunch given by this club five women from the Colored Women's Alameda County Center.

¶ The Birmingham (Ala.) segregation bill has been declared unconstitutional.

¶ The indignation of the white public-school children of Newport, O., and of their parents was aroused because these children attended a stereoptican lecture at which colored children were also auditors. The superintendent stated that this was the result of a mistake and that hereafter colored children would be given lectures when no white children were present.

¶ Anderson, S. C., has passed a segregation ordinance.

¶ The Kansas University football team is complaining and attempting to refuse to play with Nebraska because there is a colored man on Nebraska's team. So far Nebraska has refused to change the team.

¶ A bill is now before the legislature of North Carolina which, if enacted, will provide for the separation of white and colored people in all the towns of that State.

¶ A private home for Negro children, operated by Mrs. Eldridge in Morgan Park, Baltimore, has been closed by the health authorities. The purpose of this move was undoubtedly to discourage Negroes from moving into this section of the city.

¶ Five colored postal clerks were dismissed in St. Louis October 16. This is said to be the beginning of the "Negro elimination" by the new postmaster.

¶ In Omaha, Neb., the high-school band is composed of white and colored boys. The white members, following the precedent which is being established everywhere, struck and refused to play with the colored boys. The school board and faculty gave the recreants a certain time to return in or else be expelled. The white boys returned and took their places in the band with the colored boys.

¶ Five colored postal clerks in Georgia are said to have been dismissed without trial.

¶ Because substation No. 126 of the Brooklyn (N. Y.) postoffice had two colored carriers whom the people are said to have complained about, the station has been discontinued. The station was in charge of a Southern Democrat, H. P. Hill.

¶ Two policemen and three plain-clothes men are stationed near the house of Charles Shipley, a colored resident of 708 Madison Avenue, Baltimore. Shipley has received threatening letters signed: "Committee of Decent White Citizens Against Negro Invasion." One of the letters said that dynamite would be used by a member of the "Black Hand" society.

¶ The colored people of Baltimore are preparing to fight segregation. At the last report they had raised $230 and were waiting for the Court of Appeals to give its detailed opinions before taking any definite steps.

¶ The white residents of Baltimore County are now clamoring for the same segregation ordinance as has been passed for the city.

¶ Representative John J. Rogers, from Massachusetts, has asked the House to investigate the alleged segregation of Negroes in the government employ.

¶ It is said that there is a movement on foot to assign white officers to the colored regiment of infantry in New York.

¶ W. L. Delaney, the new collector of customs in Key West, Fla., has discharged the colored officeholders under him by either discontinuing or abolishing the offices which they held.

¶ Frederick Anderson, a colored farmer, who lives near Richardson, Tex., was arrested by a constable and told that he was accused of two crimes and had better plead guilty to one, so as to be released from the other. What these crimes were was not specified. Anderson was fined $25 after three days' detention in jail, but says that he was not taken into a courtroom or before a justice of the peace. While he was imprisoned eight bales of cotton and fifteen loads of hay were taken from his farm. The case has been taken before the grand jury.

CRIME.

THE following lynchings have occurred during the past month:

¶ At Hazlehurst, Miss., Wilson Evans, a young colored man, charged with attacking a white girl.

¶ At Ocala, Fla., an unknown Negro found hanging from a tree. No other facts are known.

¶ At Monroe, La., Warren Eaton, accused of making an insulting remark to a white woman.

¶ At Madison, La., a Negro accused of assaulting a white girl.

¶ One Negro was killed in a race riot in Joliet, Ill., caused by the attempts of a Negro to free a colored woman who was in prison.

¶ Charles Myers, who is in prison in Jonesboro, Ark., under a death sentence, may be freed. The prosecuting witness, Malissa Johns, now says that Myers did not attack her, but that her injuries were caused by a fall, and the other witnesses also admit false testimony.

¶ George Still, a white watchman on Mayo's bridge, Richmond, Va., who was charged with the murder of George Washington, an aged colored man, by a blow, has been acquitted.

¶ Henry Williams, a colored man, was killed by two white officers in Laurenburg, N. C., in a fray between the three men.

¶ J. M. Wilker shot and mortally wounded a Negro in Memphis, who brushed up against him on the sidewalk.

¶ Four men have been charged with night riding and posting threatening letters to Negroes in the vicinity of Jonesboro, Ark.

¶ An unknown white man, with his face blackened like a Negro, robbed a woman in Tennessee, leaving her senseless. It happened in this case that some of the burnt cork rubbed off, giving the police a clue and preventing the lynching of an innocent Negro.

¶ The colored citizens of El Centro, Cal., threaten to withdraw their patronage from a "Jim Crow" school established in the red-light district of that city. This school is carried on in violation of the law, and Negroes cannot be forced to send their children there.

FLORIDA BUSINESS MEN.

OCALA, Fla., has 3,000 colored inhabitants, and there are 12,000 others in the surrounding county. This has offered a chance for industrial co-operation. There is a thriving sea-island cotton factory, considerable exporting of moss and velvet beans, while colored men have numerous stores and are supporting professional men.

Recently the Metropolitan Realty and Investment Company has been organized and has erected a $20,000 building. In this a bank with a capital of $25,000 has been located. The president of the company, George Giles, is a large holder of real estate. The vice-president, Joseph L. Wiley, is the founder of Fessenden Academy, and the cashier, F. P. Gadson, is the owner of the largest dry-goods and notion store owned by a colored man in the United States. Other directors are Dr. Williams, a well-to-do physician, Messrs. A. S. Richardson, D. W. Goodwin, Charles Stewart, J. S. LaRoche, N. T. Brown and S. H. Hadley.

A PHYSICIAN.

DR. EDWARD DUNN BROWN was born in Newbern, N. C., May 27, 1877, and died this spring in Chicago. He was educated at the University of Penn-

BANK OF THE METROPOLITAN REALTY AND INVESTMENT CO., OCALA, FLA.

THE LATE DR. E. D. BROWN.

sylvania, and took his doctor's degree from Harvard. He settled in Chicago and became an ambulance surgeon of the city health department, but was compelled to resign on account of color prejudice.

From that time he practised in the city and was well thought of by his fellows and the public.

A SUCCESSFUL CLERGYMAN.

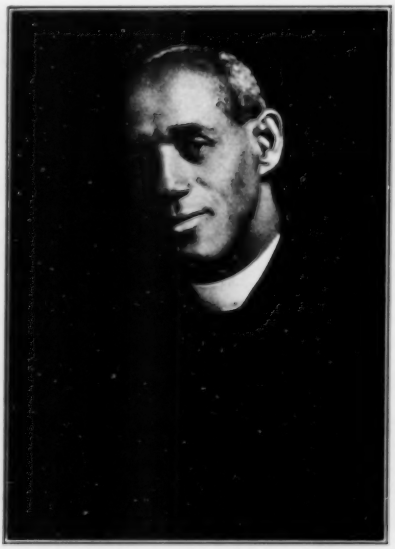
THE Rev. John Albert Williams was born in London, Ont., February 28, 1866. He was educated in the public schools of Canada and Detroit, Mich., and received his theological training at the Seabury Divinity School, graduating in 1899, and taking up his work as deacon in St. Barnabas' Church, Omaha, Neb.

Eventually he became priest of the Church of St. Philip the Deacon, of Omaha, Neb., and has remained there ever since. In 1892 he was elected assistant secretary of the diocese of Nebraska and has served continuously in that office. In 1906 he was appointed historiographer of the diocese. In 1910 he was made one of the bishop's examining chaplains; in 1909 he was associate editor of *The Crozier*, of which Bishop Williams was editor-in-chief. Finally, in 1912, Mr. Williams was made editor-in-chief of this official organ of the diocese.

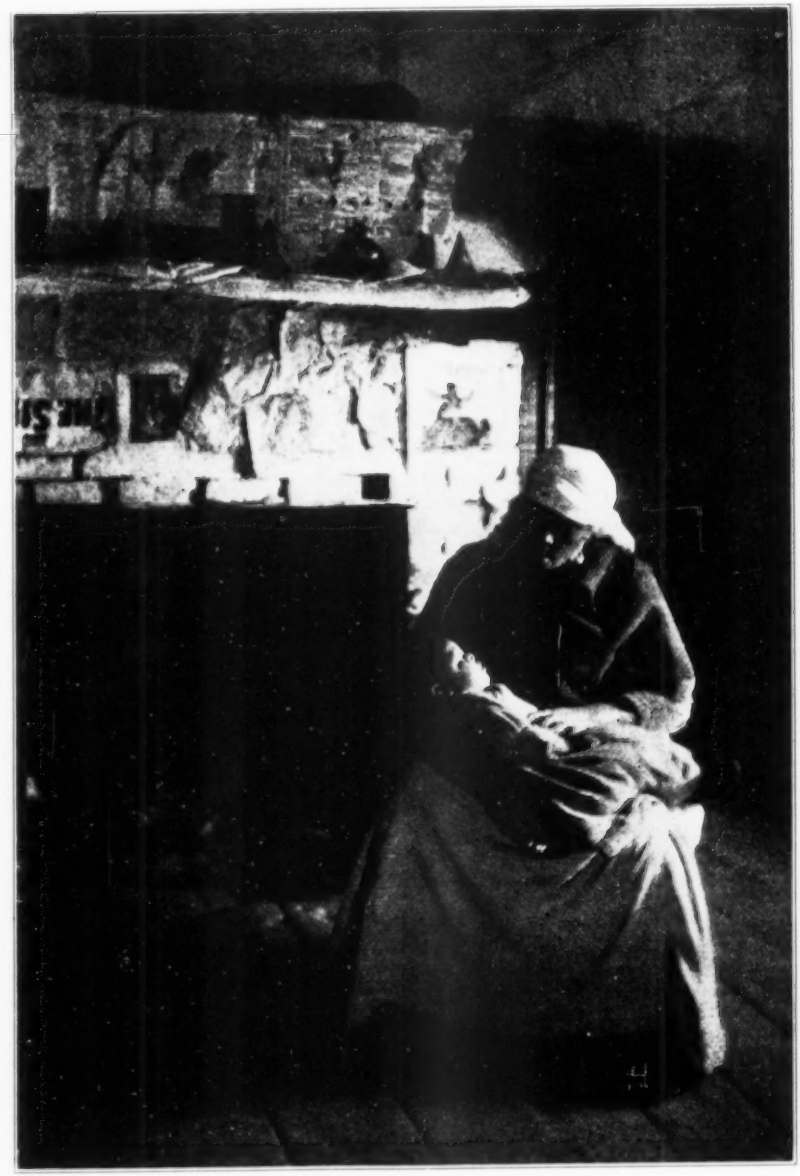
He was married to Miss L. W. Gamble in 1901 and they have three children.

Under ordinary circumstances and in an ordinary country one would end this biography here, simply noting that a well-equipped man has become editor of an influential paper. But in America to-day we must call attention to two facts: First, that a colored man can edit a paper; and secondly, that no matter what a colored man can do he so seldom gets a chance to try that where he does it is worth a column in the newspaper. How wretched a situation, and how pitiable a cause that needs such weapons! The one damning thing in race prejudice is the deeds it feels itself compelled to do in the name of humanity.

Moreover, what goes as a matter of course in this case might lead to riots and lynching in others. Suppose the bishop of this diocese had been a coward and afraid of race prejudice? Or suppose Mr. Williams had shirked his task and chance for fear of offending some prejudiced white brother? But why suppose? Let us rather thank God that now and then things go right even in America.



REV. JOHN A. WILLIAMS.



"MAMMY'S LI'L BABY BOY."

MR. WOODROW WILSON.

It would seem to be dimly dawning upon the consciousness of the President of the United States and his distinguished advisers that the 10,000,000 colored people of this country cannot be wholly ignored and that a policy which hurts them has at least to be explained. Many persons seek to show that Wilson's anti-Negro policy is a mistake of the head and not of the heart.

Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, in a speech in Baltimore, said:

"I have known the present President of the United States personally for approximately twenty years and I take this opportunity to say that although I have complete respect for the sincerity of his motives and believe that at heart he really desires to do something big and fine for the colored people, yet in this segregation matter I feel him to be wholly wrong.

"His philosophy is wrong, his democracy greatly at fault. He has given us beautiful and worthy sentiments in his book called 'The New Freedom.' But nowhere do we find any indication that his democracy is not limited, both by the sex line and the color line. He is far behind the times in his steadfast opposition to woman's suffrage."

The New York *Evening Post* has this editorial comment:

"The whole undertaking to separate the races at Washington was gratuitous, with the result that the Wilson administration finds itself between two fires and certain to alienate the colored voters in the Middle Western pivotal States, while Wilson himself appears to have been faithless to his pre-election promise to stand 'for everything by which I could assist in advancing the interest of that race in the United States.' We do not doubt that Mr. Wilson meant those words when he uttered them, or that he still means to be President of the whole country, and not merely the representative of its white citizens. But the terrible fact is there that, without protest from him, the hateful spirit of caste has been introduced into the departments to a degree never known before, though attempted previously, and that this does not help, but gravely injures, the race. Perhaps later on the President may see his way clear to some statesmanlike measure which may relieve the race tension and inure to the benefit of the nation's colored wards. But it will have to be prompt and far reaching to offset the mischief and injustice already done."

The New Haven *Register* declares that Mr. Wilson "is a President with ideals, and an apparent desire to deal fairly with all sorts and conditions of men in the nation over which he presides. His success in accomplishing this is erratic. Occasionally it amounts to a marked failure. Of nothing is this more conspicuously true than in his dealing with the Negro officeholding problem. Mr. Roosevelt erred on the side of protesting too much friendship for the Negro, and apparently lacking in real regard for him. Mr. Taft made few professions of this sort, but seems to have treated the Negro as fairly as any President in recent years. Mr. Wilson started unfortunately by permitting Secretary Bryan to make the needless mistakes of replacing a Negro with a white man in the position of minister to Hayti, a position held, and most fittingly, by Negroes for years. He did not make the matter any better by losing the opportunity which long precedent gave him of filling the position of Register of the Treasury with a Negro.

"But the most stupid and un-American blunder was this building a fence between white and Negro employees in the Federal departments, poetically called 'segregation.'

There was no need of it. The only demand for it was from a few persons with foolish prejudices. The President might have disregarded them, as other Presidents have done. He has, by the action which he has permitted, done irreparable injury to the spirit of race harmony. For in spite of pessimism and ignorant prejudice, right handling will soften the lines of race prejudice, in time. The whites, more than the Negroes, need right educating in this, and the President has contributed to error. It is unfortunate, for he is a man of justice at heart. He seems to have been led either by his own prejudice or that of others, into a serious mistake for which he cannot, however, escape the responsibility."

Senator Moses E. Clapp, speaking in Boston, said:

"When men educated, cultured, refined, who possess capabilities to do things, are humiliated and struck a blow like this, they are putting back on the black man the bloody shackles which four years of bloody warfare struck from his ankles.

"The American people might just as well know to-night as not. It is not the question of the Negro but that of the progress of our great nation. The moment you have thoroughly forced into the consciousness of the black or white man that there can be no progress, you have laid the foundation for class distinction. It is the very keynote of it all."

BALTIMORE. "For the third time," says the New York *Evening Post*, "Baltimore has passed a segregation ordinance. The first two were thrown out by the State courts when taken to them by protesting colored people. It now looks as if the matter would have to be adjudicated by the United States courts, for the ordinance of yesterday was drawn in accordance with the advice of the Court of Appeals, given when it declared the second one unconstitutional. This was a rather unusual procedure, and showed clearly where the sympathies of the court lay. In its essence the ordinance provides that no Negro shall move into a block which has a majority of white residents, and no white person shall buy or rent in a block if the majority of residents are black. It remains to be seen whether the Supreme Court of the United States will find such a restriction consistent with the guarantees of the Federal Constitution. Economically, this legislation puts iron bands on the real-estate development of Baltimore, and will, we believe, prove irksome to whites and blacks alike. It is utterly absurd in this day and generation to return to the ghetto of the middle ages, abandoned by Europe long ago, and it cannot now be tolerated in a community which calls itself democratic. It is contrary to every modern ideal and aspiration. Why, if it is successful, should similar legislation not be undertaken against Jews or Slavs or Italians or any other group in our cities?"

The full opinion of the Maryland Court of Appeals on the former segregation act has been handed down. It says among other things:

"If then the legislature could pass a statute, under the police power of the State, providing for the segregation of the races, as we think it could, there would seem to be no doubt that the mayor and city council of Baltimore can pass a valid ordinance having the same end in view. It is true, however, that some distinction is made between statutes passed by the legislature and ordinances passed by the municipality under the police power, as the court must undoubtedly take into consideration reasonableness of the ordinances and determine whether any of these are so unreasonable or oppressive that the legislature did not intend to empower the municipality to enact them as they stand."

It then goes on to discuss various difficulties in drawing up a proper ordinance and finally says:

"We do not understand why, in section 3, the exception was limited to domestic servants or just how comprehensive that term was intended to be.

"It would be difficult to include caretaker, chauffeur or janitor in the term 'domestic servants,' but as the validity of the ordinance is not thereby affected we will not discuss that further.

"As the case before us does not involve the provisions of sections 6, 7, 8 and 9 we will not discuss them separately, or pass upon the validity *vel non* of such provisions as the delegation of power attempted by sections 6 and 7 to property owners, etc., but for the reasons stated we will affirm the judgment."

Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte continues, in the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, his attacks on the segregation movement. He says in one article:

"Those who would have the Negro inhabitants of Baltimore compelled to live in dark, dirty alleys and narrow, unhealthy courts, and who, in general, long to keep them, as far as possible, poor, ignorant, vicious, criminal and diseased and a menace to the health, morals and order of the entire community, these people are not necessarily and consciously wicked; they are simply about four centuries behind their time. They feel toward a Negro very much as a subject of Ferdinand or Isabella might be expected to feel toward a Jew or a Moor. A distinguished cardinal, prominent in the papal government, has been (in all probability, very unjustly) often called 'medieval minded'; this description fits this first class of 'segregators' to a T. The character of their mental processes is illustrated with almost startling vividness in one of the letters sent to this paper. The author of this communication says:

"'Anyone who would advocate the mixture of the white and colored people, in so far as their living, willingly, side by side, is concerned, is, in my opinion, little skilled in the nature or history of mankind. Mr. Bonaparte knows well enough that there never was, nor is, nor ever will there be a time when white people, as a whole, will content themselves with having as their next-door neighbors fellow creatures who possess Ethiopian blood.'

"It is of no great consequence that this high authority evidently supposed 'Ethiopian' and 'Negro' to have the same meaning, and we need not dwell on his apparent belief that the race prejudices fostered by peculiar features of our national history are shared by white people all over the world; but is it quite consistent with sanity to suggest that a 'mixture of the white and colored people, in so far as their living willingly side by side is concerned,' is unheard of and is incredible? Precisely such a 'mixture' has existed in Baltimore ever since Baltimore has existed itself and exists to-day in scores of localities throughout the city. Moreover, in all parts of the South, Negroes were for generations employed in all the most intimate relations of life by all the most prominent and influential white people; Negroes nursed their children, their aged, their sick, cooked and served their food, cleaned and cared for their homes and ministered to their personal comfort in every way possible."

The San Francisco *Chronicle* preens itself on the superiority of California race prejudice from the Baltimore variety:

"In Baltimore a colored family, not alleged to be other than respectable, moved into a house on a street which the whites apparently desired to reserve to themselves, and were bombarded with stones and bricks for three hours by white men and boys.

"That such a performance could go on for three hours without being stopped shows just what kind of a police force they keep in Baltimore.

"To get even, however, the Negroes assembled a great crowd of their own and began a retaliatory bombardment of the houses of the neighboring white people.

"Baltimore must be a fine city to live in.

"And thereupon the authorities could think of nothing else to do but to pass what they call a 'segregation ordinance,' prescribing what blocks may be inhabited by Negroes and which must be reserved for the occupation of whites. Such an ordinance, of course, can have no legal validity, but public opinion may cause it to be respected.

"If the street where these outrages took place was occupied exclusively by whites, and especially if it is a prominent residence street, one may concede that, knowing the feeling, the colored family was unwise to move in there, but they were within their legal rights, and a respectable Negro family is perhaps more to be respected than a white family of the same grade, for the Negro family has more to contend with.

"There is this to be said about San Francisco that never in its history have acts of mob violence been committed against Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Hindoos or other alien races which go to make up our cosmopolitan population. Individual cases of aggression have, of course, occurred, but they have been dealt with precisely as we deal with breakers of the peace among whites.

"And yet there is the same racial antagonism which exists elsewhere. There is in the white race an inherent antagonism to social intercourse with those of other races. It does not extend to the educated and cul-

tured classes of the alien races, but among the masses it persists.

"But there are no race hatreds here. The Negro or Asiatic is safe from mob violence because there is no mob feeling. Persons of any race may live anywhere in this city, without fear of attack and with the full assurance of the same protection that is extended to our own people. The neighbors on a fine residence street would probably unanimously object to having a colored family move in, but the family would not be disturbed. And what in this respect is true of San Francisco is true of California.

"And yet San Francisco is imagined at the East to be a hotbed of race proscription in its most virulent form. The fact is that in this respect it is the most decent city in the country."

TILLMAN AND BLEASE.

"When it comes to pass that Senator Ben. Tillman denounces a man as a demagogue in unmeasured terms one feels like rubbing his eyes to know if he is awake. Senator Tillman has a history in the line of demagogy which is rather striking. When he came to the Senate eighteen years ago with his famous 'pitchfork' he was looked upon with about as much interest as if he had been the wild man from Borneo. He lived up to his local reputation as a man who could say bitter things, who could denounce everyone and everything not to his liking in language which reeked with vitriol and smelled of sulphur.

"But now Governor Blease, of South Carolina, represents the latest word—and we wish it were the last—in demagogy and makes Tillman seem like a reactionary. In the last few days the latter has paid his respects to the occupant of the chair he once filled in language which is picturesque and denunciatory, but which still fails to paint the whole picture. It may be said that Tillman tried his best to be a demagogue in his day, but that Blease has him beat a mile—to use the vernacular—on his own ground.

"After all, the fundamental difference between the two men is that Tillman is a man of education and not nearly so bad as he tried to make himself out, while it is impossible for anyone to be quite such a man as Blease would have us think that he is. It does not speak well for South Carolina that her present claim to notoriety hangs on the rival vituperation of her senior Senator and her governor. When one thinks of the Laurences, the Pinckneys, the Hammonds, Calhouns, Butlers and Hamptons it must be admitted that, officially speaking, South Carolina has suffered a decline. If this be punishment for her sins it may be just retribution, but it is a little hard on the rest of the country."—Philadelphia *Inquirer*.

MOB LAW.

The Chattanooga *News* has this editorial:

"In Mississippi, Thursday, a Negro was lynched. There is a serious doubt if he was guilty of the crime of which the mob accused him. In South Carolina recently a jury acquitted Will Fair, a Negro, who had been accused of the usual crime which lynchings follow. Fair, at the time of the excitement following the story of a woman that she had been assaulted, was saved from a mob which sought to lynch him only through a brave stand by the officials. It later developed that the woman's story was only the result of her fevered delirium. The only excuse the mob had to suspect that Fair had committed a crime was that he happened to pass the house at the time the woman was delirious from a spell of sickness.

"The mob clamored for the speedy conviction of the Negro, after its futile efforts to lynch him. The jury knew the Negro to be innocent, yet there was the shadow of the mob, which threatened to influence their verdict. Knowing the Negro innocent, the jury hesitated over the verdict for twenty hours. The tremendous lesson taught in the proving of the innocence of the Negro after the mob had almost succeeded in lynching him was hardly greater than that taught by the hesitation of the jury—their evident fear of declaring the Negro innocent in the face of the mob. Are even the courts of justice cowed by the blind fury of irresponsible and unthinking mobs?

"The mob sentiment exerted such an influence over the trial of Will Fair that South Carolina has been stirred to a great revolt against mob violence. 'The acquittal of Fair should serve to put an end forever to lynch law in the State,' is the view taken by the Columbia *Record*. But what of

other States which have not followed the trial of Fair intently? What of the Mississippi mob which lynched the Negro whose guilt was doubtful? If he had not been lynched would the mob shadow have influenced the trial?

"Lynch law has always been a blot upon the South. When the tentacles of the octopus of mob rule begin to spread out and grasp our courts, to intimidate our officers of justice, it is time for all citizens to lend their aid to the stamping out of this barbarism."

Prof. Ryntaro Nagai, writing in the Japan magazine on "The White Peril," says:

"Our American friends who talk more about freedom and equality than most other nations have nevertheless many hard things said of them by their own citizens in regard to their treatment of the Indians and the Negroes. At any rate it would be difficult to parallel in any country in the East such savagery as the lynching and burning of Negroes. According to the census of 1909 the Negroes of twelve Southern States made up 40 per cent. of the population; yet out of $32,000,000 spent in common school education in these States only $4,000,000 went to the education of the colored people, less than 12½ per cent. of the total. Nor are conditions better in India, if we are to believe the accounts given by the English themselves of the treatment of the natives there."

Dr. Frances Hoggan, of London, England, in the *Individualist*, quotes the following passage from one of her former lectures:

"All other wrongs of the present day pale before that depth of savagery, the lynching of Negroes. It is appalling in its revolting horror when one reflects that it is the crime of a nation which claims to lead the world. No analogous development of brutality and lust of cruelty have taken place in our times in any nation calling itself civilized, if we except Russia's barbarous treatment of political prisoners and her Jewish pogroms or mob massacres.

"There have been attempts to extenuate this crime by asserting that it is only assaults on women that are thus avenged; but, unfortunately, this is not borne out by fact, and perfectly innocent victims are frequently offered up to the mad fury of the mob. And even were the sufferers guilty of the most atrocious of crimes, there is little chance that they would escape conviction and punishment at the hands of the law, if law were allowed to take its normal course. Lynching in a wild, unsettled community may wear a semblance of justice; in a settled, civilized country it is almost unthinkable in its savagery and barbarism. It lets loose the tiger in man which it has taken so many ages to control, and it sinks the human below the brute. What is all our civilization, what are all our courts and legal procedure worth if we feel constrained to fall back at last on the most primitive mob law, and, what is worse, defend it? For my own part, I have often, on reading reports of the lynching of Negroes, felt ashamed of being a white woman, so deeply did the racial disgrace sink into my soul. More humiliating and degrading to the lyncher than the lynched, this modern crime must be uprooted, and saner methods of dealing with crime followed, unless we are prepared to retrograde indefinitely into a very hell of savagery, and to lose every attribute of the divine in man."

EDUCATION. Florida has clandestinely enacted a law for driving white teachers out of colored mission schools. The *Northwestern Christian Advocate* says:

"Some weeks ago the *Northwestern* gave a fairly comprehensive report of the cruel and inhuman enactment of the Florida legislature in prohibiting whites from teaching Negroes, the penalty being imprisonment in case the law was not observed. That this startling bit of legislation escaped the alertness of the religious press generally is somewhat strange, since by it Florida has gone the limit of race prejudice and hate.

"The *Michigan Christian Advocate* reviews the situation in a recent issue and concludes that the only thing for our freedmen's aid teachers to do is to retire from the field and leave their colored pupils to their fate; that to resist the law would be unlawful and would set a bad example before the Negro himself.

"The *Northwestern* originally advocated, and still insists, the only course to pursue is to stand by the colored schools and continue to teach. The law was enacted in the bitterness of race hate; it is altogether counter to the spirit of our people, and is

a violation of the constitutional rights of 9,000,000 citizens. Words can scarcely be summoned to properly characterize the act, and the only way it can be brought to a definite head is to carry the matter to the courts—the Supreme Court if necessary—where the rights of these citizens can be clearly understood.

"It is with the same spirit that the 'passive resisters,' including some of the bravest and foremost ministers of England, have served time in jail for the cause of educational justice, that we suggest that our white teachers stand by their post in this hour of persecution. One prominent Methodist who has spent years in Florida remarked recently that no greater boon could come to him than the opportunity to teach the black boys and girls of that State in the face of such wicked legislation. It is only by such resistance that the law can be repealed."

In New Orleans the colored people have been deprived of their only chance for public high-school education by the sale of the Southern University. They have appealed for aid from the city, but the city evidently thinks with this writer in the New Orleans *States:*

"I see it has been suggested that the city buy the property of the Southern University for a Negro high school. I am not informed as to the law on the subject of providing higher education for the Negro race, but I am opposed to Negro literary education altogether, much less higher literary schools for that race. When the Negro is taught book learning it disqualifies him for the work for which he is naturally adapted—manual labor.

"When we educate the Negro we unfit him for usefulness. Now I am not prejudiced. I used to be enthusiastic on the subject of educating everybody, Negro and all. That was when I was much younger than now. Observations extending over a period of more than twenty years have caused me to change my mind on this subject. The Negro is specially adapted to physical activities, and in that sphere alone will he serve himself and his country to the best advantage. OBSERVER."

This well illustrates the attitude of the great mass of the middle-class white Southerners.

A correspondent of *Life* brings us more light concerning conditions in Alabama:

"By the way; it may interest you to know that there is not only being waged in the State a campaign to do away with the leasing of prisoners—virtually the selling of them into slavery—but also one, even more important, for an amendment to the constitution which will permit counties and school districts to spend more than a certain fixed sum for the education of their children.

"It may be hard for some folks to believe that the makers of a State constitution would ever have thought it necessary to protect the people against too much education, but they did it in this State. And that fact goes far to explain a great many of our shortcomings."

THE CHURCH. A writer in the New York *Independent* declares:

"It is my deliberate judgment that if the advancement of the American Negro, financial, educational, industrial and moral, in his forty-odd years of effort as a freeman, and the advancement in the ideals for him among those who call themselves Christians, could stand before us revealed as they must be measured in God's sight, the Christian church of America would stand convicted of a degree of prejudice, inhumanity and cowardice for which no consideration of its great achievements in other directions can ever atone."

This seems to be fully borne out by the disgraceful exhibition of race prejudice at the recent general convention of the Episcopal Church in New York City. With the audience composed largely of educated and well-to-do colored people two Southern bishops gave talks that were insulting. Familiar untruths were repeated; namely, that the Fifteenth Amendment was the cause of the Negroes' condition, that the whites had spent $165,000,000 on the Negroes' education, that the Negroes' great need is "moral training."

The yearly congress of the church of England had a symposium on "The Kingdom of God and the Races." Lord Selborne said that if a civilized people were ruling a native race their duty was to confer on the native race good government in the fullest sense of the word and, above all, government which gave every opportunity

of development on its own line (applause). The white man must understand that he was to treat the native with full justice, and no artificial barrier should be put in the way of the native development. He must be given his constitutional opportunities of voicing his grievance. "Do not think," added Lord Selborne, "that the native is fit for the franchise. On the whole he is wholly unfit for the exercise of the vote. They are adult children—but it is a farce and hypocrisy to pretend that the white man in democratic government represents the black. He cannot, and does not. The problem, therefore, is a difficult one." The problem of education presented an intense difficulty. Education should not be forced on people who did not want it, but adequate facilities should be given to those who did, and while not advocating the intermingling of the races, his lordship said no artificial barrier should be placed in the way of the native rising to the height which his intellect and character would enable him to rise. Though the ordinary native was unfitted for the vote, men did emerge who were fitted for it. How could they give that privilege? He did not favor a technical test, adding that a man of 30, who had shown he was living a civilized life, should be given the privilege of the civilized man (applause). It was of the utmost importance that every group of natives existing should have a constitutional opportunity of stating their grievances and wants in public. They should have the right at intervals of meeting the ministers for native affairs, and in the presence of the press stating their wants (applause). It was essential that when the natives met the ministers the press should be present (applause).

Sir Sidney Olivier, former governor of Jamaica, said:

"The question in practical politics was: Are we to discriminate in legislation on the ground of backwardness or on the ground of the race? He believed that Negrophobia in race prejudice was in mixed communities the most active source of danger. The civilization and morality of the Jamaica Negro were not high, but he was on a markedly different level from his grandfather, the plantation slave, and his great-grandfather, the African savage. Negroes were now the equal of the white men in fields of human function in which a hundred years ago slave owners would have confidently alleged the Negro to be incapable of equality. The vast transplantation of the Negro, the intercourse of white and black, had, in fact, brought advance in humanity to the colored people. His study and comparison of conditions in the United States and in the West Indies had brought him to the belief that no solution of the American color difficulties would be found except by resolutely disclaiming the color line and race differentiation theory."

E. D. Morrell declared that a shudder of new emotions was passing through those hundreds of millions of colored men from the plains of Hindustan to the swamps and forests of West Africa. Strange tremors, vague ambitions and passions were stirring them as they had never before been stirred. The old unquestioned and unquestioning acquiescence in the ascendancy of the white man over the colored man as part and parcel of the natural order of things was disappearing where it had not already disappeared. The white man had made, and was making, unwittingly, and but half consciously, its return impossible. The day was rapidly approaching, if it had not already dawned, when we could no longer base the stability of our rule in the ultimate resort wholly upon our superiority in material power. There was no use in disguising from ourselves that the slave spirit is not dead in Western Europe, and that the need of fighting it whenever or wherever it reared its head was vital to the moral and material interests of civilization.

The Rev. J. H. Ritson, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, says of the church in South Africa:

"That south of the Zambesi there are at least six blacks to every white, while in Natal the proportion is eleven to one. The blacks are increasing more rapidly than the whites, and in Natal will double themselves in thirty-seven years. There are only a million native Christians and the six millions of black heathen constitute a growing peril. These blacks are seeking education and progressing by leaps and bounds—a spirit of individualism is taking the place of that tribalism which has been a restraint in the past. 'No one ought to withhold facilities for education—no one can ultimately withhold them,' said Mr. Ritson. The idea of the South Africa Native College was con-

ceived seven years ago in the Cape Province. An appeal was made for £50,000, and large European contributions were promised if the natives raised one-half of the amount, and the whole sum required was secured. The property has already been bought near Lovedale, but this is hardly accessible, it is thought, for the Transvaal natives. Efforts have been made to secure assistance from the Union government, but at present without success."

THE "JIM CROW" CAR.

The New York *Evening Post* has an editorial on the "Jim Crow" car which we quote in part:

"One of the most enlightened students of race relationships, here and elsewhere, Sir Sydney Olivier, for five years governor of Jamaica, spoke yesterday before the Church of England Congress on the dangers to the United States from race discriminations. If they are adhered to, so the cabled report runs, he feels that there will be danger of civil war and rebellion. If this is to be avoided, he says, 'statesmen and citizens' must 'face in the contrary direction.' It is not a theorist who speaks, but a trained colonial administrator, who has governed an island containing but 15,605 whites among 793,382 blacks. Moreover, Sir Sydney Olivier has traveled in our Southern States for the express purpose of studying our race relations at close range, and in more than one paper has deprecated much that he found there, dwelling notably upon the absence of such an admirable black constabulary as keeps the peace in Jamaica, and upon the many rasping discriminations which bear down so heavily on the American of color. As a result he has written that 'the color line is not a rational line, the logic neither of words nor facts will uphold it.'

"If we should be asked what is the discrimination in the South, not known in Jamaica, which to-day is most unjust to the colored people in their daily life, we should be tempted to say the 'Jim Crow' car. For every time the colored man would travel the badge of inferiority is placed upon him, unless he is one of the few who, like Booker Washington, can obtain accommodation in a Pullman car. The enlightened white Southerner is gradually beginning to realize what this means; Dr. James H. Dillard, of the Jeanes Fund and Slater Fund, is, for instance, cited as declaring: 'If I were a colored man the "Jim Crow" cars alone would drive me out of the South'—and it is indubitable that this institution is driving Negroes out of the South and keeping them out. Thus, there are hundreds of colored people in Washington alone who will not go into Virginia because they will not enter the separate coach. But the 'Jim Crow' car policy is not for the moment the greatest grievance. In the South there is no escape from it, and it is accepted by the Negroes there as something that has come to stay for a long time, though eventually it must go if the principles of Christianity are lived up to. But aside from its injustice and discrimination, the actual conditions of travel in the car itself are so unbearable as to call forth the bitterest complaints, which go unheeded because the Negro has no vote and the superior race is too superior to listen to fault-finding from blacks. • • •

"We are aware, of course, that the mere proposal to abolish the 'Jim Crow' car at present provokes a storm of anger, just as we know that the presence in white cars of the lowest element of the Negroes does mean hardship for refined white passengers, precisely as refined colored passengers suffer from overbearing white boors who enter their coach. But is there no way out? Is there not any constructive suggestion to offer? We have one which, it seems to us, is at least worth discussing. It is the adoption of the foreign system of cars of varying classes and rates of fare. We practically have two classes now, the Pullman and the 'day coach.' In Europe they have 'unwashed' peasants to deal with, but they are almost never found in the first or second-class carriages. They pay third and fourth-class rates and receive decent and clean accommodations. Is it impossible to adapt this system to our Southern railroads? It would do away with discrimination, while the presence in every class of white men with votes would prevent the existing intolerable violation of law. At least, as Sir Sydney says of the whole question, a solution along this line would be traveling the only road which leads to civil peace."

DEMOCRACY AND DISCRIMINATION.

The Chicago *Tribune* and the Greenville (S. C.) *News* are debating democracy. "Rare discrimination is foreign

to the great mass of intelligent Americans," says the *Tribune*. "The race prejudice fostered by the proprietors of certain hotels and restaurants is fostered for business reasons only. It is done to please a comparatively small class. While there are signs of increase in discrimination against the Negro in the North here and there, these do not indicate a tendency. Race prejudice cannot gain headway against the stream of intelligence or overcome the fusion of our common life."

To this the *News* replies and incidentally gives up "practical" democracy:

"This is a strange utterance to the South. The chief thing wrong with the view expressed is that it is wrong in its conclusions as to the antidote for prejudice during the present day. Does the *Tribune* want race amalgamation? If not, why begin on a basis of no discrimination? Prejudice, per se, is of course inimical, but the best way to keep down such prejudice is to keep the races as distinct and separate as possible. Such a course is better for the Negro and better for the white man. This is not a day of 'nigger hating,' but is a day when men take a sane view of a great and unsolved problem, and then conclude that it is best to keep the races separate as far as possible. Prejudice invariably follows a contact of the races on any but a business basis. Theoretically, of course, this is not pure democracy, but in this day pure democracy will work only in theory and not in practice."

Two New Orleans papers thus view the new civil-rights bill in New York. The *Times-Democrat* says:

"As the former statute was evaded or ignored whenever and wherever the proprietors of hotels, restaurants, theatres and other establishments affected saw fit to draw the color line, we may be reasonably confident of the latter's ability to get around the new one. Doubtless it will produce no end of litigation at the beginning—helping to line the pockets of a certain class of lawyers at the Negro equality-seekers' expense. But the statute's unpopularity, plus the ingenuity of the business men who believe in the color line, ought to make its enforcement extremely difficult, if not impossible. Not only so, but the ambitious Negroes' last case is likely to be worse than their first from their own viewpoint. Their attempts to enforce racial social equality have stimulated race hatreds and produced friction throughout the Northern States. The intolerable conditions at which they aim are not to be established by legislative fiat, either. Every new undertaking of the sort is bound, we believe, to quicken race antipathies in the North and so to hasten the correct national adjustment of race relations by means of a color line rigidly drawn."

The *Picayune* says:

"That this law expresses the wishes and feelings of the people of the State of New York is plain or it would not have been enacted, and, although there are many people in the Empire State who do not favor it, they are in a minority and are not represented in the public affairs of the State. Hereafter visitors to the metropolis from the Southern States are likely to encounter, more or less frequently, unpleasant incidents, but as they will only be the result of circumstances which they cannot prevent, it will be well to accept them with the best grace possible."

SOME SOUTHERN LOGIC.

For gymnastics in reasoning commend us to the editor of the Macon *Telegraph*. He believes in democracy and he is preaching the right of suffrage, but the eternal black man pops up here and there and plays sad havoc with his arguments. Listen to this, for instance:

"If the object of government is the protection of the weak, as we are told by all the sages and sociologists, then to make that protection full, and as complete as possible, the weak should be permitted to have a voice at least at the polls."

Sounds good, doesn't it? One could hardly ask anything better. Now read this:

"The right of franchise, for instance, is a normal human right among men. To cheat men of that right intimidation is sometimes resorted to, but more often indirect devices are employed. In America—*in a white man's country—a white man has the same right to vote that he has to live.* The 'six months before' requirement for poll taxes, the 'Australian ballot' system and other devices are aimed at the poor and illiterate white man."

After that cold plunge ascend to Heaven with this fine flourish:

"Let us adhere to the fundamentals of the laws of the Creator. He made all men for equal opportunity and equal happiness

The fall of man rather upset things, but the original principles and designs are the same so far as men in freedom can be drawn in line with them. With the fall came craft, and craft is about the worst of evils, because it is for the most part hidden. A hidden or interior evil (of the mind and thought and intention) is hard to eradicate by the individual in himself, and harder to fend against by another because of its very character.

"Innately, therefore, men are, and ought to be, equal; at least when you look above the criminal classes, the human averages pretty well."

Now descend into hell:

"Let us preface by saying that under our law all white men who have qualified by registering are entitled to vote, and no device ought to be permitted which will cheat them out of that right. It ought to be made *easy* and not *hard* for an honest man to vote his convictions."

Finally, after dizzily recovering your balance, read this good old Southern stuff:

"The women of the Southern suffragette leagues are acting on the supposition that the Negro women, like the Negro men at present, can be virtually denied the ballot. They forget that the present situation as regards the Negro men required fifty years to be worked out; that it is at best but temporary, and that the more 'progressive' we become the more difficult will be the task of maintaining the existing status. They forget that the popular trend is continually and more and more away from independent State action, and that already we are threatened with the abolition of State lines in national elections.

"When the ballot is conferred on women by an amendment to the Federal Constitution the number of the disfranchised Negroes in the South will be doubled. When the cry of that doubled element of the disfranchised reaches the women of the North and West, who are in the saddle for the 'rights' of their sex, no ingenuity on the part of Southern man or woman can possibly invent a scheme whereby the present status can be successfully maintained. For the South's problem there will then be no solution."

Wherefore we beg to conclude that the editor of the Macon *Telegraph* is certainly some logician.

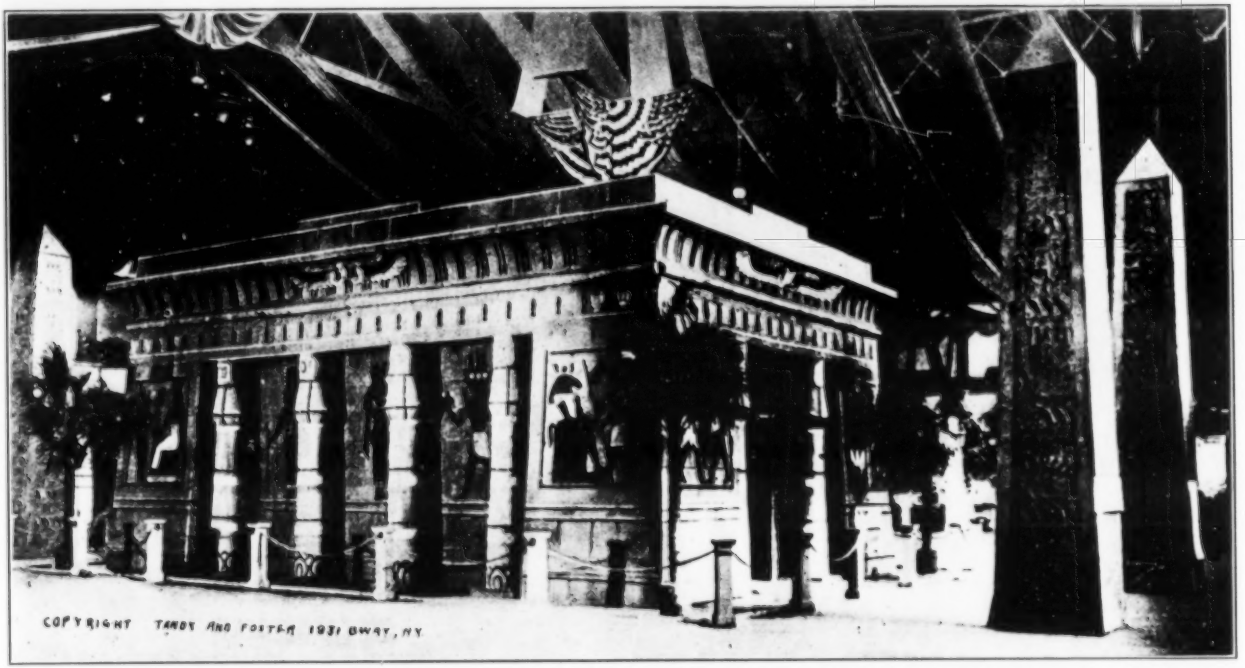
THE NEGRO IN EGYPT.

The New York *Evening Journal* says:

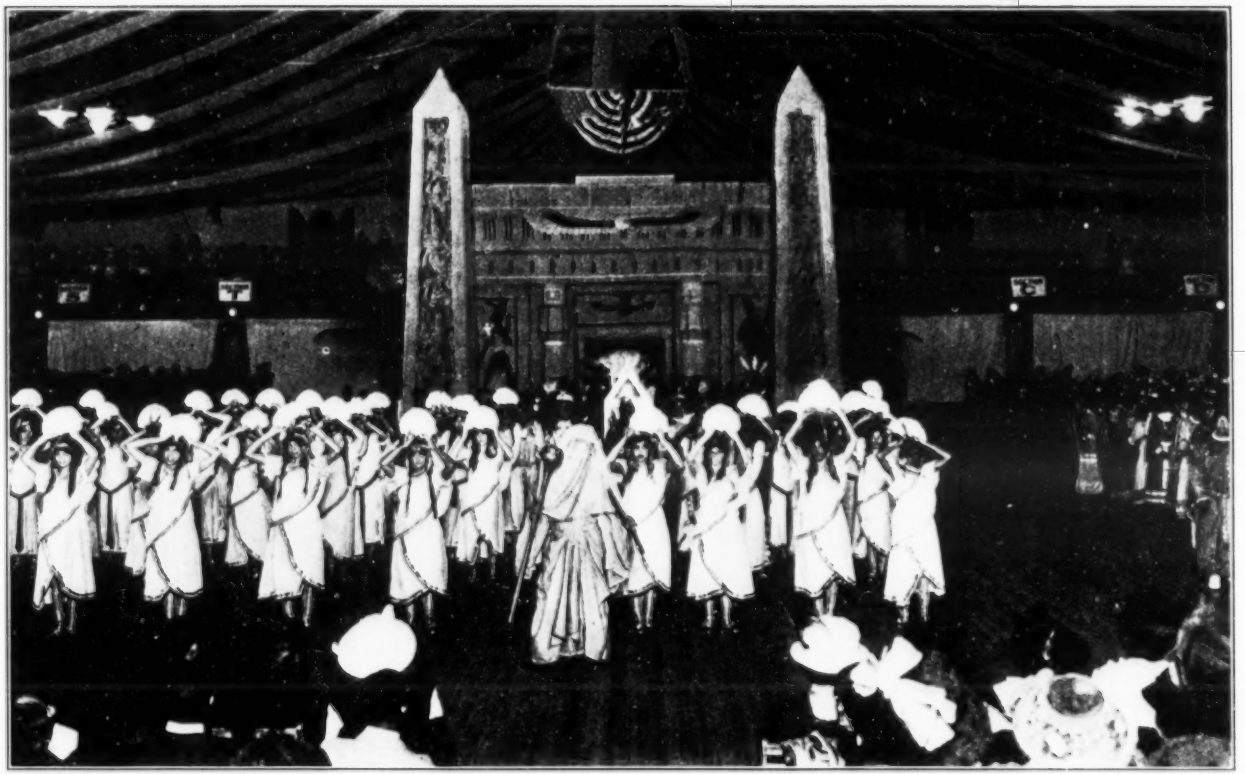
"The giggling shopgirls whose life of misery is still a joke to them—blessed youth!—should interest you deeply. And the Negro, too, with a tired black face, resting for the next day's slavery—slavery on a wage basis, but slavery all the same. Possibly you despise his thick lips. But those lips are carved on every sphinx in Egypt's sand, and if you could go back far enough you would find the ancestors of that Negro, before the days of the Pharaohs, laying the foundations of your religion and locating the stars in heaven. At that time your forbears were gibbering cave savages, sharpening bones and gnawing raw flesh. When you see the Negro on the opposite seat, the ill-starred one who has gone down in the human race, while we have gone up, think about him, study him, speculate as to his ultimate end—and your own. Don't merely say to yourself: 'That's a plain Negro,' and go on chewing gum."

Town Topics says:

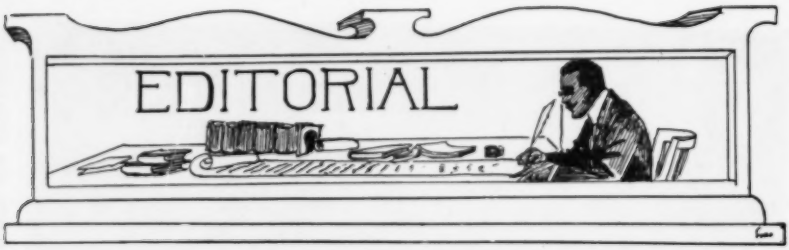
"Well worth a visit is the Negro exposition in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the emancipation proclamation. Specimens of Negro handicrafts, from the time of the ancient Egyptians—whom some Negroes claim as ancestors—down to the present, are exhibited, and demonstrate the improvement of the race. The exposition has a special interest, because the commencement of an anti-Negro movement is observable throughout the whole country, and even in Europe, where color has hitherto been no barrier. During the Civil War the Negroes won the high commendation: 'Our colored troops fought nobly.' Since the emancipation proclamation their conduct, North and South, has been most exemplary. Very few of them have tried to intrude themselves where they were not wanted, and these few have been misled by white men, who conspired to use them for political purposes. I reason, therefore, that the feeling against them is only the survival of an old prejudice, fomented by wicked agitators, which can be lived down by their prevailing characteristics of industry and education. The Negro exposition is a notable display of their achievements."



THE NATIONAL EMANCIPATION EXPOSITION IN NEW YORK CITY: THE TEMPLE OF BEAUTY IN THE GREAT COURT OF FREEDOM.



THE HISTORICAL PAGEANT OF THE NEGRO RACE AT THE EMANCIPATION EXPOSITION: FORTY MAIDENS DANCE BEFORE THE ENTHRONED PHARAOH RA, THE NEGRO.



The Three Wise Men

THE comet was blazing down from the sky on the midnight before Christmas. Three songs were dying away in the East: one from the rich and ornate chapel of the great cathedral on the hills beyond 110th Street—a song of beauty and exquisite finish but coldly and formally sung. Another, a chant from the dim synagogue on the lower East Side—heavy with droning and passionate; the last from West 53d Street—a minor wail of utter melody. The songs had died away and the three priests, looking at the midnight sky, saw the comet at the same moment. The priest in the ornate chapel, gowned in his silken vestments, paused and stared wonderingly at the star; it seemed drawing near to him and guiding him. Almost before he knew it he had thrown a rich fur cloak about himself and was whirling downtown in a taxicab, watching the star with fascinated gaze. The rabbi on the lower East Side no sooner saw that blaze in the heavens than a low cry of joy left his lips and he followed swiftly, boarding a passing Grand Street car and changing up Broadway; he hung on the footboard to watch unmindful of the gibes at his white beard and Jewish gabardine. The old black preacher of 53d Street, with sad and wrinkled face, looked at the moving star thoughtfully and walked slowly with it. So the three men threaded the maize of the Christmas-mad streets, neither looking on the surging crowds nor listening to the shouts of the people, but seeing only the star. The "honk, honk" of the priest's taxicab warned the black priest scarcely too soon, and he staggered with difficulty aside as it whizzed by and made the motorman of the car, which bore the Jew, swear at the carelessness of the chauffeur. One flew, the other whirred swiftly and the third walked slowly; yet because of their differing ways they all came to the steps of the great apartment house at the same moment, and they bowed gravely to each other, yet not without curiosity, as each ascended the steps. The porter was strangely deferential and they rose swiftly to the seventh floor, where a wide hall door flew silently open.

Within and before the wide log fire of the drawing room sat a woman. She was tall and shapely and well gowned. She sat alone. The guests had gone an hour since and the last footsteps of the servants were echoing

above; yet she sat there weary, still gazing into the mystery of the fire. She had seen many Christmas Eves and they were growing all to be alike—wretchedly alike. All equally lonely, aimless—almost artificial. She arose once and walked to the window, sweeping aside the heavy curtains, and the brilliancy of the star blazed in upon her. She looked upon it with a start. She remembered how once long, long years ago she had looked upon stars and such things as very real and shining fingers of fate. She remembered especially on a night like this how some such star had told her future. How out of her soul wonderful things were to be born, and she had said unto the star: "How shall this be?" And something had answered: "That holy thing that shall be born of you shall be called the Son of God." And then she had cried in all her maiden faith and mystery: "Behold the handmaiden of the Lord, be it according to thy word." And the angel departed from her, and it never came back again. Here she was reaching the portals of middle age with no prospects and few ambitions; to live and wait and sleep; to work a soulless work, to eat in some great manger like this—that was the life that seemed stretching before her endless and without change, until the End and the Change of Changing. And yet she had dreamed such dreams and fancied such fair destiny! As she thought of these dreams to-night a tear gathered and wandered down her face. It was then that she became suddenly aware of two men standing on either side of her, and she felt, but did not see, a third man, who stood behind. But for the soft voice of the first speaker she would have sprung up in alarm, but he was an old man and deferential with soft ascetic Jewish face, with white-forked beard and gabardine, and he bowed in deep humility as he spoke, saying:

"Where is He that is born King of the Jews, for we have seen His star in the East, and have come to worship Him?"

The other surpliced figure, who stood upon her right hand, said the same thing, only less:

"Where is He who is born King, for we have seen His star in the East, and have come to worship Him?" And scarcely had his voice ceased than the strong low rolling of another voice came from behind, saying:

"Where is He, for we have seen His star in the East, and have come to worship Him?"

She sank back in her chair and smiled. There was evidently some mistake, and she said to the Jew courteously:

"There is no King here."

"But," said the Jew, eagerly, tremulously, "it is a child we seek, and the star has guided us hither; we have brought gifts of gold and frankincense and myrrh." Still the woman shook her head.

"Children are not allowed in these apartments," she said, "and besides, I am unwed."

The face of the Jew grew radiant.

"The Scriptures say He shall be born of a Virgin," he chanted. But the woman smiled bitterly.

"The children of Virgins are not welcome in the twentieth century, even though they be Sons of God!"

"And in a manger," continued the Jew.

"This is, indeed, a manger," laughed the woman, "but He is not here—He is not here—only—cattle feed here."

Then the silk-robed priest on the left interrupted:

"You do not understand," he said, "it is not a child of the body we seek, but of the Word. The Word which was with God and the Word which was God. We seek the illuminating truth which shall settle all our wild gropings and bring light to this blind world." But the woman laughed even more bitterly.

"I was foolish enough once to think," she said, "that out of my brain would leap some wondrous illuminating word which should give light and warmth to the world, but nothing has been born, save here and there an epigram and the smartness of a phrase. No, He is not here."

The surpliced priest drew back with disappointed mien, and then suddenly, in the face of priest and Jew, as they turned toward the unseen figure at her back, she saw the birth of new and wonderful comprehension—Jew and Gentile sank to their knees—and she heard a soft and mighty voice that came up out of the shadows behind her as she bent forward, almost crouching, and it said:

"Him whom we seek is child neither of thy body nor of thy brain, but of thy heart. Strong Son of God, immortal love. We seek not the king of the world nor the light of the world, but the love of the world, and of all men, for all men; and lo! this thou bearest beneath thy heart, O woman of mankind. This night it shall be born!"

Slowly her heart rose and surged within her as she struggled to her feet; a wonderful revelation lighted in her whirling brain. She, of all women; she, the chosen one—the bride of Almighty God; her lips babbled noiselessly searching for that old and saintly hymn: "My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit hath rejoiced in God, my saviour. For he hath regarded the low estate of his hand-maiden, for behold! from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed." A great new strength gripped her limbs. Slowly she arose, and as she rose, the roof rose silently with her—the walls of the vast room widened—the cold wet pavement touched her satined feet, and the pale-blue brilliance of the star rained on her coiled hair and naked shoulders. The shouting, careless, noisy midnight crowds surged by and brushed her gown. Slowly she turned herself, with strange new gladness in her heart, and the last words of the hymn on her lips: "He hath put down the Mighty from their seats and hath exalted them of low degree; he hath filled the hungry with good things and the rich he hath sent empty away." She turned, and lo! before her stood that third figure, an old, bent black man, sad faced and pitiful, and yet with brilliant caverned eyes and mighty wings that curved to Heaven. And suddenly there was with the angel a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying:

"Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, good will toward men."

SELAH!

FROM A LAYMAN.

SIR: I am looking forward to some comment by you in the next number of THE CRISIS *in re* the Episcopal Church convention in its dealings toward the Negro. Were it not too well known that that church was the bulwark of slavery, and always has been the mainstay of prejudice, it might have been amazing to behold the hypocrisy and bigotry displayed by these "ministers of the Gospel." Evidently the Southern bishops could not divorce from their minds the Southern maxim: "Keep the Nigger down."

Yours truly,
E. L. CROSS.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

IN the red blood-guiltiness of the Christian church in America toward black folk the Episcopal Church has undoubtedly larger share than any other group. It was the Episcopal Church that for 250 years made itself the center and bulwark of man stealing and chattel slavery. It was the Episcopal Church that deliberately closed its doors in the face of the praying slave; it was the Episcopal Church that refused after the war to educate the freedmen, and is still refusing, and it is only on the rostrum of the Episcopal Church that such reactionary heathenism could find welcome expression as was uttered by the bishops of Georgia and Tennessee at the last general convention.

The setting was characteristic. In the Cathedral of St. John the Divine were gathered 1,000 persons, three-fourths of whom represented the emancipated and risen race whom the church for two centuries had insulted and spit upon. They were quiet, well bred and earnest people, long suffering and self-sacrificing. They did not complain when the obsequious ushers pushed them to the rear and carried forward the snobs and pretenders—the smug-faced hypocrites who are making the Episcopal Church in America a hissing in the ears of righteous men.

The dark hundreds sat down quietly and listened to—what? To a political screed, to lies that sounded deliberate, and to a wretched carping bitterness which disgraced the anointed prelates who thus fumed and cursed God and insulted their helpless auditors.

It is NOT true that the Fifteenth Amendment is the cause of the problems arising from the presence of the Negro race in America, and no student of American history with an ounce of sense or honesty would affirm this. As a matter of fact it was only the ballot of reconstruction times that kept the freedmen from re-enslavement.

There is not the slightest evidence that the South has spent $165,000,000 for Negro education, and yet this venerable lie, started in the senility of the late Commissioner Harris, was paraded again to salve the conscience of the guilty South.

The Atlanta University conference did NOT affirm the unmorality of most Negro preachers. It affirmed just the opposite, and the bishop of Tennessee made statements which sounded like deliberate falsification of the facts when he twisted a partial quotation out of its context to serve his own ends.

The American Negro does NOT stand in unusual need of moral training. It is the American white man who needs that. The American white man, and especially the white man of the South, is a thief and a libertine to a greater extent than the Negro ever was or ever will be, and it is an impudent thing to preach regeneration to the helpless victims of slavery and lust and stealing.

Why should the Episcopal Church in the day of its dotage thus elaborately set the stage to advertise Southern re-

actionaries? Why should it thrust forward Nelson and Gailor and leave in the background Dillard, Weatherby, Bishop and Peabody? Is not this but one of many signs which show that this great institution is the church of John Pierpont Morgan and not the church of Jesus Christ?

THE STRENGTH OF SEGREGATION.

WHEN the American people in their carelessness and impudence have finally succeeded in welding 10,000,000 American Negroes into one great self-conscious and self-acting mass they will realize their mistake.

At present it is still possible to make Negroes essentially Americans with American ideals and instincts. In another generation, however, at the present rate we will have in this country a mass of people of colored blood acting together like one great fist for their own ends, with secret understanding, with pitiless efficiency and with resources for defense which will make their freedom incapable of attack from without.

The actual organization of this group is progressing by leaps and bounds. It needs now but to be knit together into one great unity. This can be done—it is being done. Those who advise "race pride" and "self-reliance" do not realize the Frankenstein which they are evoking. The Negro cannot be beaten in this line by any present methods. The physical intimidation of lynching cannot be kept up; the economic intimidation of exclusion from work cannot, with the present organization of Negro industry, be kept up after ten years. Continual social insult is powerless against those who refuse to be insulted. After this—what? What can America do against a mass of people who move through their world but are not of it and stand as one unshaken group in their battle? Nothing. The yell of the segregationist is the last scream of beaten prejudice. After that American civilization will be compelled through long centuries to tear down the walls which they are now building around the finest and most gifted single group in its polyglot population.

THE EXPOSITION.

THE New York emancipation exposition which took place in New York during the last ten days in October was perhaps the largest single celebration which colored people have had in the North. The total attendance was over 30,000; the order was perfect; not a single arrest was made and there were no serious accidents.

But the exposition was not simply an assembling of crowds. It was an organized, logical affair. There were comparatively few exhibits, but each exhibit was in its place and meant something, and when combined with photographs and charts told a continuous and complete story of fifty years unusual progress among colored Americans. To this was added a series of entertainments.

But greatest of all was the historical pageant. It became, as it was designed to be, a great popular festival with 350 actors living their parts. Its imagery and beauty have been seldom surpassed, and Mr. Charles Burroughs and his helpers deserve all praise in their signal success.

When one remembers under what extraordinary difficulties the nine commissioners organized this exposition, and what a fire of indefensible criticism they underwent, the exposition must go down in history not simply as the greatest of the attempts to celebrate the jubilee of freedom up to this time, but also as a singularly successful effort in honest administration and widespread co-operation.

A MAN THEY DIDN'T KNOW

A STORY

By JAMES D. CORROTHERS

(In Two Parts—PART I)

THE opposition was right.

President Nefferman had blundered. In fact, he had not understood the situation at all. *Now* the people realized this. A crisis was at hand. War seemed inevitable. An appalled and anxious nation looked for a way out—with *honor.*

Yet, at the beginning of all this, President Nefferman had laughed, flouting all thought of serious possibilities. The chief mouthpiece of the opposition, stung to hysteria by the president's bungling, mercilessly assailed him, urging his immediate impeachment, and stood not upon the order of its flaming and virulent denunciation. Bristling invective, scathing rebuke, scourgings and knoutings, it volleyed and showered upon him in the fury of its wrath. Perhaps this great paper, a veritable "thunderer" among its kind, was most dangerous to the interests of the president and his friends when it condescended to ridicule, and malignantly played the fierce light of its derision upon the pitiful man. Again and again it shouted:

"Nefferman laughed!"

"Laughed in the face of this black and ominous storm, thick-belching from the noxious shores of hell! Laughed and could not be made to understand the oncoming, dreadful thing. He laughed, actually *laughed!* And all the mountebanks, mimes, grafters and money bags of his senile administration laughed with him, in unison. *They* had made 'theirs' and were content. So doubtless, too, was poor, fat-witted Nefferman. He laughed until his own private money bags rumbled and burst and laughed. This was caught up and echoed by the money bags of the protected 'interests.' It became the laugh of millions, as if every bag had a golden mouth, and all the bags had burst. But from the tormented, seething populace it evoked no merriment; awoke no answer; provoked no response but malediction. To the anxious, fearing people the fearful levity of Nefferman and his friends was as mocking and hateful as the bacchanalia of devils who lead the doomed to hell, among echoing rocks, and beside murmurous rivers of pitch.

"But it was all very funny to Nefferman. His lazy brain reported: All is well. He *laughed*—amid these flashings from Sheol! He actually threw back his beefy, Midas-eared head; wrinkled his butcher-hued face in complacent, Neffermanian smiles; opened his big mouth wide, and—*laughed!* Had it not been for a little isthmus at the back of his neck the whole top of his head would have been an island.

"Dolt!

"Already the Orientals, through their secret treaties with Mexico, were at the beginning of things. The American consulate in Mexico City had been damaged; several Americans in Mexico had been imprisoned, tortured and killed; shots, always 'random shots,' had been fired across the border into the United States, wounding our citizens and destroying property; American soldiers had been hit, and skirmishes were frequent until forbidden by the American government. Then began the desertions of our Negro soldiers to Mexican ranks. There these trained men, of a race never before disloyal to their land or flag, manned the machine guns for the 'Mexicans,' and sent vindictive volleys crashing back into American homes and towns.

"'Mere straws!' observed Nefferman, not realizing that 'straws' tell which way the *winds* blow.

"Next came the California 'land law' movement, against which Japan formally protested to this government—*her only open move.*

"Then came the remarkable *'votes for Negroes;' justice NOW!'* movement of the blacks throughout the country. Great mass meetings and restless bands of men and women, with black, agonized faces, marching through our cities and from town to town.

"Again Nefferman laughed!

"'Mere imitation!' he reassured us. 'Sambo and Topsy,' he explained, 'trying to mimic the English suffragettes. That is—all but the "hunger strike." Ha! ha! Sambo loves his po'k chops too well for that!'

"Still Nefferman laughed!

"But now 'a change came o'er the spirit of his dream.' Ten American soldiers and three citizens were shot on American soil during a raid by Mexican rebels. Six of those wounded died. The American government demanded from Mexico proper reparation and apology. This the Mexican government seemed reluctant to grant, disclaiming federal responsibility, and claiming also that the rebels were assisted by American adventurers and mercenaries. Upon this some American State troops and a few regulars surreptitiously plunged over the Mexican border by night and captured the entire rebel band, of necessity shooting a few in the drastic transaction. All Mexico is flaming white hot over the 'outrage.' War may be declared upon us at any moment, and united Mexico, backed by her cunning and powerful ally, will bristle to the assault.

"Now Nefferman's levity subsided, and a look of determination clouded his Napoleonic brow. His pride was aroused. He would end this thing at once, and decisively.

"But now came the second greater shock: The 'peaceful' revolution of Hawaii, voted in by 20,000 Hawaiian-born Japanese youths, real 'American citizens,' who had a right to vote, and who, together with certain renegade whites and a wholesale importation of Negroes, formed a new political balance of power in the islands, thus assuring the success of their audacious plot. It is anticipated that the next move will be annexation to Japan. A Hawaiian republic can hardly stand alone. Americans are leaving the islands.

"The government at Washington, beyond furnishing transports for the departing Americans, has done little other than to demand that the authority of the United States be recognized, as heretofore. It is asserted that the Atlantic fleet may be ordered to the scene to enforce our demands. Meanwhile, it is rumored that a dozen Japanese cruisers are already secreted in secluded Hawaiian waters awaiting the attack of the American squadron. There is, however, no confirmation of this report.

"Nefferman is not laughing *now!*

"Later: A most disquieting report reaches us to the effect that Charles H. Bowden, the American aviator, soaring over the supposedly unfrequented waters of the lower California gulf, on Friday, made the startling discovery of a secret Japanese coaling station situated on a quiet bay. Some cruisers of lighter draft were hiding nearby. There appeared to be great activity on board.

"Ft. Bayard, N. M., April 18.—Nearly half a company of United States colored troops stationed here deserted to the enemy when ordered to prepare for action against the Mexicans. Disloyalty is spreading among the Negro troops. Further desertions seem imminent. The yellow peril is upon us. Behind all that has happened may *now* be discerned the hand of the plotting East.

"Chicago, April 19.—At a mass meeting held here last night more than 2,000 Negroes, among whom were some of the leading colored people of this city, passed resolutions demanding *'votes for Negroes,'* and *'the immediate cessation of lynching in the United States.'* The Negroes declared they would not bear arms in the impending conflict unless the national government took steps for their relief. Similar meetings were held in Detroit, Cincinnati and St. Louis. The Negroes asserted that meetings of like nature will take place soon in other leading cities, especially in the East and Northwest. The leaders of last night's meeting were arrested, but the disaffection continues to spread. It is a grave and alarming state of affairs. Severe punishment of the leaders will only inflame the blacks. Something must be done to win the Negroes over."

A tall, athletic, sun-browned man, emerging from a field of rustling corn, received a letter from the rural postman. It was noon. The dinner bell at the farmhouse had rung, and thither, letter in hand, the man started with swinging strides. The letter

had originally been sent to X——, Mass. After repeated forwarding, it had finally reached him in Eastern Pennsylvania. It was from the President of the United States, and was as follows:

The Rev. Grant Noble,
Pastor Baptist Church,
X——, Mass.

Rev. Sir:

In the present crisis, which threatens to become a national calamity, it is deemed advisable for the President to call together some of the representative men of your race with whom he may take counsel concerning the unprecedented attitude which colored citizens are assuming toward the national government. Your name was suggested by a gentleman from Massachusetts as that of a sagacious and resourceful man of unusual attainments and character. It is to such men as yourself that the President turns in this our country's hour of need. No other President of the United States has had such a problem on his hands. Will you not meet with the President in Washington on the evening of April 21, at 8 o'clock? The expense of the trip will be met. No publication of this matter should be made at present. Sincerely yours,

Rodney Morris.
Secretary to President Martin Carlos Nefferman.

Grant Noble decided to go, though it might involve for him no small sacrifice. In a few words he set forth the matter before the good German folk for whom he worked, and with whom he and his little son enjoyed one of the pleasantest homes in which they had found shelter, on their gradual journey westward, since his unfortunate losses in Massachusetts.

"Chess," assented the good farmer, a staunch Nefferman man, "dot vill pe alright. Go unt dalk mit him all vat he vants. Unt der chob, unt der liddle, mudderless poy vill pe here alright, ven pack you come."

That night Grant Noble was in Washington, and, a few minutes after 8, was shown into the President's office. Three other colored men, all strangers to him, were already waiting. At nearly 9 o'clock another colored man, a bishop of pompous mien, was ushered in. Out of fifty who were asked to come but five were present.

The President, burdened and worn, though not precisely upon the minute, came promptly, without the slightest hint of ceremony, and, arrogating to himself no air of Saxon superiority, got immediately to business.

"Gentlemen," he said, "I want your help, and your sympathy. I *know* your race has been abused; I know we have lost its confidence. *Can it be restored?*"

The prelate, to whom all deferred, spoke first—a set speech, and an *old* one—grandiloquent; vain, he threw no light upon the subject. Plainly, his sole desire was to "show off"—to get advertised. He had not the intelligence nor sense to know that he had failed. And upon the impenetrable face of Nefferman there was no sign.

One after one, three other Negroes spoke, and in their talk that long telegraph pole of a capital letter "I" was indubitably apparent. Evidently each thought that *he* could lead his race back to loyalty—and whithersoever he chose.

"Do you not think, gentlemen, that Dr. Packer T. Jefferson would be the proper leader to carry through any plans upon which we might decide?" asked the President.

It was Grant Noble who answered.

"There is just one man," he declared, "who can prevail with my people *now*. That man is not Dr. Jefferson. They would follow Dr. Jefferson through *life*, to progress and success, but I doubt if Mr. Jefferson himself would presume that he could lead them into *death*. *That* requires a warrior soul! There is one mighty black man whom my people would follow into death. *That* man is Jed Blackburn, the discredited Negro boxer. I am aware of his mistakes and of his limitations. I know he is in great disfavor. But, if you would win back the American Negro, get *this* man into action. He is lion hearted and patriotic."

"Do you know this man personally?"

"Yes, slightly."

"If this plan is decided upon," asked the President, "would you be willing to undertake its negotiation?"

"I think so, sir."

"And what boon would you offer him—what reward?"

"*Redemption*, through the battlefield; a patriot's bright glory, perhaps a patriot's death, but—*REDEMPTION*."

(*To be concluded in the January* Crisis.)

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

THE National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is the new abolition society. It has twenty branches, ranging from New York to Washington and from Boston to San Francisco and Tacoma. It has the machinery to fight discrimination, and everywhere it is making that fight—against segregation in Baltimore and other cities, against segregation in work in the United States government departments, against "grandfather" laws and "Jim Crow" laws before the Supreme Court of the United States. Its branches are holding meetings of protest, its officers and directors are volunteering as speakers.

Its chairman, in spite of the fact that he has been for twenty years a friend of Mr. Wilson, and has warmly supported the present administration, personally and through his paper has taken a most aggressive stand in denunciation of the undemocratic policy of segregation which is being inaugurated in Washington. He has interviewed members of the Cabinet and the President himself. He has addressed large meetings of protest in Baltimore and Washington and is now preparing an article for one of the leading magazines.

The association sent an investigator to visit the departments in Washington where segregation was said to be in force. This report was released to the Associated Press and to other news services on November 17, when it was also sent to 500 newspapers, fifty religious papers, to magazine editors, to members of Congress, to ministers and to many others. Copies may be obtained free of charge by applying to the National Association.

Cases affecting the colored people now before the Supreme Court of the United States may decide the legal and political status of the Negro for years to come. The National Association is the only organization appearing for the colored people in these cases. It has filed a brief in the "grandfather" case now before the Supreme Court. This was prepared by the president, Mr. Moorfield Storey, one of the leaders of the American bar, who, with Mr. Harrison of Oklahoma, will argue the "Jim Crow" case set for this term.

The association has just engaged a lawyer to assist the legal committee in its work. The association has also engaged a man to watch every bill introduced into the House and Senate in Washington. Discriminating bills have been appearing with increasing frequency, and without the careful watching of an expert may be railroaded through at any moment. The association is now preparing to fight the "Jim Crow" car bill which it is generally understood will be introduced in Congress in February. "Jim Crow" cars in Washington mean "Jim Crow" cars in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Indianapolis, St. Louis and perhaps even in New York and Boston.

If you want to protest, enroll with us as a new abolitionist in the National Association, and do it now.

BRANCHES.

Baltimore.

ONLY a mention of the remarkable mass meetings recently held in Baltimore and Washington was included in the last number of The Crisis, since it went to press before the meetings had taken place. The Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church, where the Baltimore meeting was held, was crowded to the doors. Mr. Warner T. McGuinn presided. Resolutions were adopted and wired to the President. The speakers were Dr. Spingarn, Miss Ovington and Mr. Villard. After comparing the un-American policy of race segregation to the example set by Russia, Mr. Villard said in part: "But the stupidity of raising this issue does not stop there. It differs but very little from the one which rent the Union. The great struggle which convulsed the United States was, in its simplest terms, nothing else than the attempt of an aristocracy of cotton and land to create two classes of human beings in this country—the slaves and the free. They were willing to sacrifice the Union and everything else to this end. Those who in this day and generation are seeking to establish two classes of citizens—the disfranchised and enfranchised—to say that there shall be two kinds of government employees—as does Mr. McAdoo's Cabinet associate—they are on the high road to convulsing anew this land of liberty, which will never know peace and quiet as long as there are discriminations among its citizens. Upon their heads will be the responsibility of forcing the issue and not upon ours."

Boston.

A large and enthusiastic audience attended the mass meeting of protest against segregation which was held in the Park Street Church on October 20. Mr. Storey presided. The speakers included Senator Moses E. Clapp, Mr. Albert E. Pillsbury, formerly attorney-general of the State, the Rev. Samuel H. Crothers, the Rev. Mr. Auten, Mr. Rolfe Cobleigh, assistant editor of the *Congregationalist*, and Mr. Butler R. Wilson, secretary of the branch. Letters were received from Governor Foss, Congressman A. P. Gardner and Mr. C. S. Bird. Governor Foss wrote: "I have undertaken, as a citizen and as governor, to bring this matter to the attention of the President, and have asked him to take such action as may bring an end to race discrimination in any department of government. It is proper for me to say, however, that I can hardly believe that at this late day any national administration will reopen the question of race discrimination in the United States. I therefore cannot believe that the reported acts of discrimination are a part of a settled policy, and cannot doubt that President Wilson will speedily put an end to conditions which, as reported to me, are unworthy of any free people."

Tacoma.

On October 17 a mass meeting of protest against segregation was held at Everett by the Tacoma branch. Delegates from Seattle and Tacoma were present and delivered addresses. Judge Bell, of the Superior Court of Everett, presided. Other speakers were Father Saindon, through whose courtesy the lecture room of the Catholic church was placed at the disposal of the meeting; Capt. K. K. Beecham, a veteran of the Civil War and captain of a Negro regiment, and Mrs. Nettie J. Asberry, secretary of the Tacoma branch, who explained the aims and objects of the National Association. Resolutions read by Mr. Joseph Griffin, secretary of the meeting, were forwarded to the President in care of Congressman Falconer.

Topeka.

An entire evening devoted to the work of the National Association was arranged by the branch at the recent fair held at Lane Chapel. Mrs. Roundtree, secretary of the branch, spoke on the origin of the association; Mr. N. Sawyer, on its object; Mr. Guy, on the progress it had made, and the Rev. Mr. Walker, on the outlook. The branch plans to publish a series of short articles in the Topeka *Daily Capital*. These will be by white and colored writers of prominence, and will aim to explain and further the work of the association.

Washington.

Within five blocks of the White House, in the Metropolitan African Methodist Episcopal Church, on October 27, the most remarkable and epoch-making meeting ever held in the District of Columbia protested against the segregation of colored employees in government departments. The crowd has been variously estimated at from 8,000 to

10,000 people. The meeting was advertised for 8 o'clock, but shortly after half-past seven the detachment of police, detailed to keep order, directed that the doors of the church be closed. Some idea of the throng can be inferred from the fact that when Dr. Holmes, one of the speakers, arrived, and finally pushed his way through to the iron fence surrounding the church, it was necessary to lift him bodily over the fence, so that he might reach a side entrance leading to the auditorium. Because of the size of the crowd the speakers were obliged to deliver their addresses first to the meeting within the church and afterward to an overflow meeting of over 4,000 outside.

Mr. Archibald H. Grimke, president of the branch, presided. Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford and ex-Senator Blair spoke briefly. The principal addresses were made by Dr. Walter H. Brooks, of Washington, Dr. John Haynes Holmes, the noted Unitarian minister of New York, and Mr. Villard. Musical selections were artistically given by the Howard University choir. Dr. Holmes made a stirring and powerful address. He said, among other things, that segregation, instead of allaying race prejudice, was really the cause of all the friction, and characterized it as the "new crucifixion."

When Mr. Villard arose he received a veritable ovation. He prefaced his address by reading a letter which he had just received from Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, and his personal friend, requesting him not to speak, because in criticising Mr. Wilson's administration "he would be doing injustice to a just man." Mr. Villard said that he had been urged by those in high authority to use his influence to keep the colored people in "cool and just equipoise." "It is beyond me to influence them much in this direction," he said, "but I would not if I could. On the contrary, I shall lose no opportunity to preach the doctrine of peaceful rebellion and revolution against discrimination of every kind." His speech has been given wide publicity in the press and much favorable editorial comment. A writer in the Chicago *Tribune*, in speaking of it and of the present administration's "officializing of race prejudice," said: "It would be more inspiring to read Mr. Wilson's declaration that we must prove ourselves the Latin-American's friends and champions upon terms of equality and honor if we were not reminded at the same moment by Mr. Villard that Mr. Wilson is countenancing race discrimination in his own country."

A collection of about $300 was taken for the work of the National Association. After the meeting the executive committee of the branch appointed a committee of fifty to raise funds, and already $1,200 has been subscribed, to be paid not later than January 1. This committee has expressed itself as favoring an endowment for the association.

Other noteworthy meetings against segregation were held by the Northern California branch, by the colored people of New Haven, where Mr. George W. Crawford, one of the directors of the association, made an inspiring speech; and also in Portland, Me., where Dr. Mason addressed a large audience.

LEGAL.

ON November 1 the association engaged an attorney, Mr. Chapin Brinsmade, to assist the legal committee in carrying on its work. Up to this time this committee, comprising some of the most eminent lawyers in this country, without compensation have handled all legal cases referred to the association. The work has developed so rapidly and has increased so in volume and importance that it has become necessary to have a lawyer at national headquarters who can devote his entire time to this important department under the direction of the legal committee.

Mr. Brinsmade graduated from Harvard College with the class of 1907. During his senior year, 1906-1907, he was absent from the university, teaching at the Gunnery School in Washington, Conn., of which his father, John C. Brinsmade, is head master. In the fall of 1907 he returned to Cambridge to enter the law school from which he was graduated in 1910. Since that time he has been practising law in New York City. He was admitted to the New York bar in 1911. During the years 1911 and 1912 he has been associated with the law firm of Van Wyck & Mygatt, and later with their successors, Wherry & Mygatt, at 40 Wall Street.

The chairman of the board of directors wishes to express in this way his apprecia-

tion of the support and good work of those branches which contributed $100 each to enable the association to employ an attorney, and of Bishop John Hurst, of Baltimore, who personally gave $100 for this purpose. The branches which so generously came to the aid of the association are Indianapolis, Washington, Baltimore, Quincy, Tacoma, Topeka and Detroit. Two of our largest branches, Boston and Chicago, which have always been most generous in their contributions to headquarters, were not asked to contribute, nor were the branches which had just been admitted. Especially appreciated was the co-operation of Quincy and Tacoma, which at the time they made their contributions were our smallest branches, numbering not more than twenty members each.

MR. VILLARD:

After your speech last night I and many others are convinced that you must have a strain of Negro blood, or you would not have come here and made the remarks you did to incite the Negro to worse crimes than have been committed, and the most terrible ones they commit against white women. We cannot walk on the streets of this city now after nightfall, as many of us are compelled to do in coming from our work, without fear that we may be the next victim.

Take them to New York and let them associate with your wives and daughters.

A crime committed in the North, against a white woman by a Negro, receives only a few lines notice by your Northern papers, but let the same crime be committed in the *South*—the *New York* papers *especially* have *a half column.*

If your blood is *tainted,* as many here believe, you, of course, will be excused only on that believe.

A WASHINGTON WOMAN.

Washington, October 28, 1913.

CHILDREN OF THE SUN

By FENTON JOHNSON

I.

WE are children of the sun,
Rising sun!
Weaving Southern destiny,
Waiting for the mighty hour
When our Shiloh shall appear
With the flaming sword of right,
With the steel of brotherhood,
And emboss in crimson die
Liberty! Fraternity!

II.

We are the star-dust folk,
Striving folk!
Sorrow songs have lulled to rest;
Seething passions wrought through wrongs,
Led us where the moon rays dip
In the night of dull despair,
Showed us where the star gleams shine,
And the mystic symbols glow—
Liberty! Fraternity!

III.

We have come through cloud and mist,
Mighty men!
Dusk has kissed our sleep-born eyes,
Reared for us a mystic throne
In the splendor of the skies,
That shall always be for us,
Children of the Nazarene,
Children who shall ever sing
Liberty! Fraternity!

AT BUCKEYE LAKE.

BUCKEYE LAKE is thirty-three miles east of Columbus, O., and round about it are many cottages and an amusement park. In the park is a dancing hall operated by the lessee of the dance grounds. Annually the colored Elks of Zanesville, O., give an outing at the park, to which colored people come from all over the State—even from West Virginia.

The attendance this year ran up to 20,000. According to the manager of the park this is the largest and best picnic that goes to the lake. More money is spent and better order is maintained than in any other. This year, in the afternoon, the big dance hall was given over to the colored people for dancing while the white people stood and sat round about and looked on. At night when the white people were dancing the colored people came to see them dance and to sit in the pavilion, which provided almost the only seats on the grounds; but policemen had been stationed here and would not let them look or sit.

The members of Parker's Orchestra, which had been furnishing the music for the park, happened to be colored men and protested against this discrimination. Finally, when the discrimination was kept up, the orchestra refused to play any longer and the dancing stopped. The men who thus sacrificed their work for a principle were receiving $22 a week each and had three weeks' work ahead of them. They were succeeded by white men who soon quit on account of the small pay and conditions of work.

A white correspondent in the Columbus *Despatch* says:

"SIR: The outing of the colored people at Buckeye Lake last Thursday, which was marked by such a regrettable catastrophe, and late in the evening by certain racial unpleasantness about the dance hall, was marked by another thing about several of the concessions which I cannot help mentioning.

"The matter to which I refer was the merciless way in which the prices of ordinary commodities were boosted on that day, apparently for imposition on the people who are seldom favored with holidays at any resort, and who are determined to have a good time for once at whatever cost. The chief overcharge which I noted was in the price of boats, which usually rent for $1 for the first hour and 50 cents for every hour thereafter. I saw one man charge a Negro $5 for the use of a boat for an hour, which was paid promptly and without protestation. At the main restaurant that strange anomaly at a colored picnic was noted of chicken sandwiches, being the only food of that style left late in the afternoon. The reason was ample. They charged 25 cents for a poor little lonesome piece of fried fowl with an unadorned blanket of bread. I saw a Negro come away from the stands with three pieces of ice, scarcely larger than walnuts, for which he was charged 5 cents. So the extortion went on. Even a crook would recognize the injustice of this. For one white man I was ashamed of the selfishness of my race."

PROSPEROUS NEGROES.

J. J. SCOTT and W. Wilkerson, Negro undertakers, convicted in Judge Palmer's court of intimidation in collecting a debt, were freed of their sentence of two years in the penitentiary Monday morning by Governor Hooper. In granting the pardon Governor Hooper stated that in his opinion the verdict against the undertakers was an "effort to hold up and squeeze two colored men who have accumulated some means by thrift and energy," and that in his opinion the Supreme Court would eventually have decided in their favor.—Nashville *Tennessean*.

THE CRISIS

FOR 1914

It is our determination to make THE CRISIS in the New Year absolutely indispensable to intelligent folk.

The news "ALONG THE COLOR LINE" will hereafter be so written as to furnish a complete summary of the history of colored folk and their struggles.

No important thought or comment on the Negro problem will be omitted from "OPINION."

Especial effort will be made to increase the number and weight of the ARTICLES published, and we expect contributions from some of the leading thinkers of the world, white and black.

We shall publish some interesting local STUDIES of great Negro cities and great Negroes of the past which you should read.

Our BOOK and MAGAZINE REVIEWS will be more complete, lively and critical than heretofore.

FICTION touching colored people will be given especial prominence, and now and then we shall publish a poem.

The EDITORIAL policy will be fearless and frank as usual. You may not agree with us (and that is your privilege), but you will have to admit that we know what we want and are not afraid to ask for it.

Finally, we shall not forget the CHILDREN, their joys and sorrows and hopes.

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READ PAGE 54

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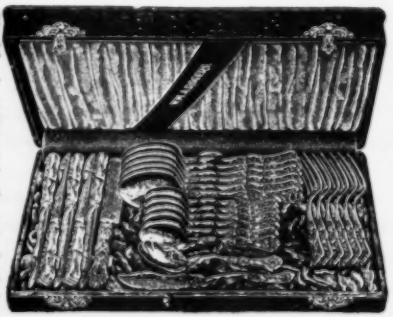

Consists of 6 Teaspoons, 6 Tablespoons, 6 Medium Knives, 6 Medium Forks, 1 Butter Knife, 1 Sugar Shell. In Plain or French Gray finish, Beautiful Raised Vintage Design. Put up in fine Leather case, silk lined. With a printed guarantee from Rogers factory It is the greatest bargain in High-Grade Silverware ever offered. Don't delay in sending your order as we only let a limited number go at such a low price. Send Post Office or Express money order or Registered Letter.

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See rates printed on page 97

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